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**Annals of the  
Bhandarkar Oriental  
Research Institute  
Volume XXII  
1941**

EDITED BY

A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, M.A.,

AND

R. N. DANDEKAR, M.A., Ph.D.



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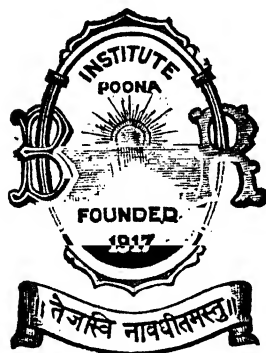
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[ PARTS I-II

## THE KĀLIKĀ-PURĀṆA

BY

R. C. HAZRA, M.A., Ph.D.

University of Dacca, P. O. Ramna, Dacca, ( Bengal )

The present *Kālikā-Purāṇa*,<sup>1</sup> which is also sometimes called

<sup>1</sup> Published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay 1829 Śaka.

The Veṅkaṭ. ed., though consisting of 93 chapters, is practically the same as the Vaṅgavāsi ed. ( of 90 chapters ) published with a Bengali translation in Calcutta, 1316 B. S. The corresponding chapters in the two editions are following :—

Veṅkaṭ. ed.		Vaṅga. ed.		Veṅkaṭ. ed.		Vaṅga. ed.
Chaps. 1-23	=	Chaps. 1-23		Chaps. 43-44	=	Chap. 42.
		respectively		„ 45-63	=	Chaps. 43-61
„ 24-25	=	Chap. 24				respectively.
„ 26-38	=	Chaps. 25-37		„ 64-65	=	Chap. 62.
		respectively.		„ 66-67	=	„ 63.
Chap. 39	=	Chap. 38.		„ 68-79	=	Chaps. 64-75
„ 40	=	„ 39.				respectively.
Chaps. 41-42	=	Chaps. 40-41		Chap. 80.	=	Chaps. 76-77.
		respectively.		Chaps. 81-93	=	„ 78-90.
						respectively.

Besides the two editions mentioned above, Eggeling mentions a Bombay ed. published in 1891 ( see Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1191 ).

For Mss. of the *Kālikā-p.* see Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, pp. 1189-92 (No. 3339.—This is a complete Ms. of 91 chapters, written in Bengali characters and ‘presenting on the whole the most correct text.’ Eggeling’s description of the Ms shows that it is practically the same as the printed editions mentioned above ) and p. 1192 ( No. 3343.—This is an incomplete Ms written

( Continued on the next page )

'*Kālī-purāṇa*'<sup>1</sup> and is regarded as one of the most authoritative works by the comparatively late Nibandha-writers especially as regards Śakti-worship, is begun, like the *Devī-p.*, by an unknown reporter with a salutation to Puruṣottama Hari and his illusive Māyā. This reporter informs us that once some sages, Kamāṭha and others, approached Mārkaṇḍeya who lived near the Himālayas, and requested him to speak on the following topics; viz., how Kālī, as Satī, fascinated Śiva; how Satī was born to Dakṣa; how Śiva accepted her as his wife; how Satī immolated herself through rage against Dakṣa and was reborn as the daughter of

(continued from the previous page)

in Devanāgarī and reaching as far as chap. 45 of the Ms just mentioned.) ; Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 78 (No. 132.—Written in Devanāgarī); Haraprasad Shastri, *Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, ASB., Vol. V. p. 748 (No. 4088.—This is an old Nāgara Ms, dated 1668 Śaka and complete in 90 chapters.) ; Hrishikesh Shastri and Shiva Chandra Gui, *Descr. Cat. of Sans. Mss, Calcutta Sans. College*, IV, p. 10 (No. 13.—This is a very old, worn out, worm-eaten, complete Newari Ms, dated 202 Nepali era and calling itself '*Kālī-purāṇa*' in the final colophon,) and p. 11 (No. 14.—This is an old, undated, complete Ms written in Bengali characters) ; and R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. Mss.* I, p. 80 (No. 149.—A complete Nāgara Ms deposited in the library of the ASB, Calcutta).

All these Mss are generally the same as our printed editions.

For other Mss of the present *Kālikā-p.* see Keith, *Cat. of Sans. and Prakrit Mss in the Library of the India Office*, II, i, pp. 907-8 (its contents are generally the same as Eggeling, No. 3339) : Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Descr. Cat. of Sans. Mss, Vaiṣṇava Sāhitya Pariṣat Calcutta*, pp. 69-70 (two complete Bengali Mss. of 90 chapters each) and p. 70 (No. 1241.—A very old Bengali Ms) ; *Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the Sans. College Library, Benares*, p. 337 (two complete Nāgarī Mss) ; A. C. Burnell, *Classified Index to the Sans. Mss. in the Palace at Tanjore*, p. 187 ; Hiralal, *Cat. of Sans. and Prakrit Mss. in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 81 ; Roth, *Cat. of Tübingen Sans. Mss.*, p. 13 ; Dacca University Mss. Nos. 56 (dated 1684 Śaka and complete in 90 chaps.), 583B (dated 1672 Śaka and complete in 96 chapters), 633 (dated 1767 Śaka and complete in 95 chapters), 877 (incomplete), 943 (90 chaps., missing fols. 1-5), 2671 (incomplete), 2890 (complete in 90 chaps.) 3268 (dated 1716 Śaka and complete in 90 chaps.), and 4235 (incomplete) ; and so on.

In the Preface, p. lxxxix to his translation of the *Viṣṇu-p.* Wilson mentions a Ms of the *Kālikā-p.* of 98 chapters.

<sup>1</sup> See *Durgāpūjā-tattva* (Sans. Sāhitya Pariṣat ed.), pp. 14, 18 and 20 wherein there are some verses from the '*Kālī-p.*' which are found in the present *Kālikā-p.* See also *Durgotsava-viveka* (ed. Sans. Sāhitya Pariṣat), p. 17 and *Viramitrodaya* (ed. Chowkhamba Sans. Series, Benares) *Rājanīti-prakāśa*, p. 39. In the final colophon of a Ms of the *Kālikā-p.* preserved in the Calcutta Sans. College collection the work is called '*Kālī-purāṇa*' (see p. 1, foot-note 1).

Himālaya; and how she occupied half of Śiva's body.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, Mārkaṇḍeya mentions how he inherited these Purāṇa topics from Brahmā through the sages Nārada, Vālakṛīyas, Yavakṛīta and Asita respectively<sup>2</sup> and begins with a salutation to Cakra-pāṇi (Viṣṇu), by worshipping whom, he says, Brahmā created beings.<sup>3</sup> He then goes on narrating the above mentioned topics with relevant digressions which are no less important and interesting than the main topics. Thus the *Kālikā-p.* deals with the exploits and worship of Kālī or Kālikā who is primarily the Yoga-nidrā and Māyā of Viṣṇu<sup>4</sup> but who later became the wife of Śiva as the dark-complexioned Dākṣāyaṇī (Sati) and Kālī (the daughter of Menakā)<sup>5</sup> for the good of the world. This Yoganidrā or Māyā (or rather primal Kālikā), who is described as graceful, dark-complexioned, four-armed, carrying a sword and a blue lotus in two of her hands and assuring the confer of boon and safety with the other two, having dishevelled hair, and mounted on a lion,<sup>6</sup> and is the Śakti (Energy) and Prakṛti (Original Source) of the universe, has many forms, viz., Mahāmāyā or Kāmākhyā<sup>7</sup> Durgā,<sup>8</sup> Bhadrakālī,<sup>9</sup> Ugra-candā,<sup>10</sup> Umā,<sup>11</sup> etc. The glory and worship of all these forms, especially of Kāmākhyā, have been described elaborately in the *Kālikā-p.*; and in connexion with these topics there have been introduced many myths and legends which are of great importance especially from the point of view of the history of Śāktism.

<sup>1</sup> *Kālikā-p.* 1, 9-13.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 16-18.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 19-24.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 5, 3-4, 14, 47-48, 51-52, 59-61; 6, 8-9, 61-63; etc.

<sup>5</sup> According to the *Kālikā-p.* Sati, reborn as Menakā's daughter, had a dark complexion and was consequently named Kālī or Kālikā; but her friends called her Pārvatī (*Kālikā-p.* 42, 45-48). She was also named Umā (because she could not be prevented from her penance for the attainment of Śiva's favour—*Kālikā-p.* 45, 22-23) and Aparṇā (as she did not take even leaves during her penance—*Kālikā-p.* 45, 37). After her marriage with Śiva she got rid of her dark complexion by worshipping Śiva and was called Gaurī (*Kālikā-p.* 47, 30f.).

<sup>6</sup> *Kālikā-p.* 5, 51-53; 8, 8-11.

<sup>7</sup> Mahāmāyā, who is said to be identical with Kāmākhyā, is called the 'mūla-mūrti' (original form) of Yoganidrā, and from her the other forms are derived.—*Kālikā-p.* 60, 48-52; 39, 123. For a description of the form of Mahāmāyā see *Kālikā-p.* 55, 24-36.

<sup>8</sup> *Kālikā-p.* 61, 10-22; 62, 9f.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 62, 55ff.    <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 62, 118f.    <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 63, 41f.

It also contains valuable materials for the study of many other sects such as those of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Brahmā and others,<sup>1</sup> informations regarding the glory and worship of these deities being introduced in connexion with those of one or other of the various forms of Kālikā.

In spite of the fact that the *Kālikā-p.* speaks of many Śākta deities as well as holy places, mountains and rivers of different parts of India, especially of the region of the Candrabhāgā in the Punjab, its partiality for the east,<sup>2</sup> and more definitely for Kāmarūpa, is specially remarkable. It deals elaborately with the different deities as well as the holy places, rivers and mountains of Kāmarūpa exhaustively and with a special fervour, so much so that Kāmākhyā, the most prominent Śākta deity in Kāmarūpa has been given the highest place as the chief form (mūla-mūrti) of Mahāmāyā, and the holy places there have been glorified even over Vārāṇasī, Puruṣottama-kṣetra, Dvāravātī, Brahmāvarta, Prayāga, etc., Kāmākhyā being called the most sacred place of all.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, in *Kālikā-p.* 93, 30-32 it is said that Vasiṣṭha, who had read and heard the '*Kālikā-p.*' from Mārkaṇḍeya, concealed it in Kāmarūpa, the abode of gods, until it was revealed to the sages by Mārkaṇḍeya. Hence there can be little doubt regarding the fact that the present *Kālikā-p.* was composed somewhere in, or very near about, Kāmarūpa in Assam.

The inclusion of the title '*Kālikā*' or '*Kālī-p.*' in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas which we have been able to collect from different sources,<sup>4</sup> and the numerous quotations made from a '*Kālikā-p.*' by many of the early Nibandha-writers, would certainly appear to show that the present *Kālikā-p.* is a work of

<sup>1</sup> See *Kālikā-p.*, chaps. 81-83; 78, 204f.; etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Kālikā-p.* 18, 28-34 speak of the Vaitaraṇī river as originating from Śiva's tears, coming ultimately to the east and flowing into the 'pūrva-sāgara'; in *Kālikā-p.* 18, 37 Śiva is said to have gone to the eastern countries with Satī's dead body on his shoulder; in 18, 40f. different holy places are said to have originated in the east from parts of Satī's body cut to pieces by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śanaīścara; *Kālikā-p.* 18, 44-45 say that those regions in the east which were traversed by Śiva with Satī's dead body on his shoulder, are known as 'yājñika deśa'; and so on.

<sup>3</sup> *Kālikā-p.* 60, 34-48.

<sup>4</sup> See my article on 'The Upapurāṇas' in *ABORI*, Vol. XXI, p. 38f.

considerable antiquity<sup>1</sup>; but an attempt to trace the quoted verses in the present *Kālikā-p.* creates grave doubts regarding the early origin of this Purāṇa by bringing to our notice the facts that not a single of the numerous quotations made in Nānyadeva's *Bharata-bhāṣya*,<sup>2</sup> Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtya-kalpataru*,<sup>3</sup> Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (AnSS ed.), Ballālasena's *Dānasāgara* (Ind. off. Ms.), Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, (Bibl. Ind. ed.) Śrīdatta's *Kṛtyācāra* (Dacca University Ms. No. 4339) and *Ācūrādarśa* (Venkat. ed.) Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (Dacca University Ms. No. 1055C) Madanapāla's *Madana-pārijāta* (Bibl. Ind. ed.) Mādhavācārya's *Parāśara-bhāṣya* (ed. V. S. Islampurkar) and *Kūlanirṇaya*, (Bibl. Ind. ed.) and Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (Bibl. Ind. ed.)<sup>4</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, Mr. P. K. Gode finds fault with the date (14th century) assigned to the present *Kālikā-p.* by Mr. Payne in his work (*The Śāktas*), and places it before 1000 A. D. without caring to know whether the '*Kālikā-p.*' drawn upon by Nānyadeva, Aparārka, Lakṣmīdhara and other early commentators and Nibandha-writers is the same as the present one. See Gode in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. X, 1936, pp. 289-294.

<sup>2</sup> Nānyadeva's quotation from a '*Kālikākhyā-purāṇa*' in his *Bharata-bhāṣya* has been pointed out by Dr. V. Raghavan in his article on '*The Kālikā (Upa)purāṇa*' in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XII, 1938, pp. 331-360.

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. V. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-3.

<sup>4</sup> Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, who is one of the most noted Smṛti-writers of Orissa, mentions '*Vidyākara Vājapeyin*' as well as '*Vidyākara-paddhati*' in his *Nityācāra-pradīpa*. So the *Nityācāra-pradīpa* must be later than the *Nityācāra-paddhati* (Bibl. Ind. ed.) of Vidyākara Vājapeyin.

Now, as Raghunandana mentions Vidyākara Vājapeyin as an authority several times in his *Smṛti-tattva* (Jivānanda's ed., I, pp. 355, 744, etc.; II, pp. 68, 75, 312, 505, etc.), the latter cannot be later than 1500 A. D.; and as Vidyākara himself mentions the *Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi*, which is apparently the older work of that name by Caṇḍeśvara and not the later one by Vācaspati-miśra whose literary activity lay between 1450 and 1480 A. D., he cannot be earlier than 1350 A. D. The *Kramadīpikā* informs us that Vidyākara's father declined a grant of land from Nṛsiṃha, king of Orissa, left the country with family and settled at Benares. (For the extract of the *Kramadīpikā* see *Nityācāra-paddhati*, preface, p. 2, footnote 2). Now, the only Nṛsiṃha, whose reign falls within this period, is the fourth king of that name, one of whose land-grants was made in 1395 A. D. in the 22nd aṅka or 18th year of his reign (see JASB. 1895, pp. 132f. and R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, pp. 283-4). So this Nṛsiṃha must have ascended the throne

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found in the present *Kālikā-p.*, that none of the interlocutors, viz., (i) Tṛṇavindu and Anilāda,<sup>1</sup> (ii) Sanaka, Sanatkumāra and Kāvya-kūṭa (?)<sup>2</sup> and (iii) Sūrya and his devotee,<sup>3</sup> mentioned in connexion with some of the verses quoted from a '*Kālikā-p.*' in the above mentioned works, is found in the extant *Kālikā-p.* and that the present *Kālikā-p.* which is drawn upon by Śūlapāṇi, Śrīnāthācārya-cūḍamaṇi, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Kṛṣṇānanda Āgama-vāgīśa, Gadādhara,<sup>4</sup> Mitra Miśra, Anantabhāṭṭa and Nanda-paṇḍita, first began to be used by the Bengal

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in 1377 A. D. Hence it is sure that Vidyākara's father migrated to Benares after 1377 A. D. Again, Vidyākara says in one of the introductory verses of his *Nityācāra-paddhati* that he lived at Benares for 30 years and then wrote the *Nityācāra-paddhati* ( cf. *trīṃśadvarṣaṃ sa kāśyāṃ kṛta-vasatir abhūd dharma-śāstrasya kartā paddhatyākhyasya*..... ). So the *Nityācāra-paddhati* must have been composed in the first half of the fifteenth century A. D.

Hence the *Nityācāra-pradīpa* of Narasiṃha Vājaṇeyin cannot be earlier than 1425 A. D. ( According to Kane, Narasiṃha Vājaṇeyin was ' later than 1400 A. D. ' See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, pp. 572 and 706 ).

<sup>1</sup> See *Caturvarṣa-cintāmaṇi* II, i, pp. 439-444, 829-831, 831-832; II, ii, pp. 179-180, 376, 377-381, 992-4. *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, fol. 163b.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned in *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, Śānti-kāṇḍa.—See Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

<sup>3</sup> See *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, pp. 684-5.

Though the interlocution between Sūrya and his devotee is also mentioned in *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 36, it need not be taken to have occurred in the present *Kālikā-p.*, because those Nibandhakāras who have drawn upon the extant *Kālikā-p.* are also sometimes found to contain verses which belonged to the earlier *Kālikā-p.* and which they derived, as in the cases of many other Purāṇas, either direct from the earlier *Kālikā* or from the authoritative commentaries and Nibandhas which drew upon this earlier Purāṇa. See p. 8, foot-notes 4, 6 and 7.

<sup>4</sup> In his *Kālasāra* ( Bibl. Ind. ed. ) Gadādhara mentions not only the following works and authors, viz. Mādhavācārya, *Kāla-mādhaviya*, *Kāla-darśa*, *Kṛtya-kaumudī*, *Kṛtya-mahārṇava*, *Gauḍa-saṃvatsara-pradīpa*, *Madana-pūrijāta*, *Śūlapāṇi*, *Śrāddha-niveka* etc., but also '*Tithitattvakāra*' ( sometimes distinguished with the adjective '*Gauḍa*, '—see *Kālasāra*, pp. 421, 463, etc.—*gauḍais tithitattvakāraiḥ*..... ) and *Haribhaktivilāsa* in several places. That by the word '*tithitattvakāra*' Gadādhara means none but Raghunandana is shown by the fact that the references made by Gadādhara to the opinions of the '*Tithitattvakāra*' are all found in the *Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana. ( For instance, *Kālasāra*, pp. 105, 106-7 and 117-8

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Smṛti-writers from the fourteenth century A. D.<sup>1</sup> but by the non-Bengal authors (especially of Orissa and Benares), from the beginning of the seventeenth century. These facts create the impression that the present *Kālikā-p.*, which certainly came to Bengal from Kāmarūpa either in the thirteenth or in the fourteenth century A. D., is a work quite different from the earlier *Kālikā-p.* mentioned in the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas and drawn upon by Nānyadeva, Lakṣmīdhara and others. This impression is finally established as true by an extract of ten verses quoted in Raghunandana's *Durgūpūjā-tattva* (pp. 8-9) with the words 'dusprāpa-kālikā-purāṇāntare'pi' but not found in the present *Kālikā-p.* The expression 'dusprāpa-kālikā-purāṇāntarepi' shows definitely that Raghunandana knew another *Kālikā-p.* which was different from the present one profusely drawn upon by him in his *Tattvas*, and that Mss of this older *Kālikā-p.* had already become extremely rare in his time.

Before we try to determine the date of composition of the present *Kālikā-p.* we should like to say a few words on the contents, character and date of the earlier *Kālikā-p.* which also was often called '*Kāli-purāṇa*'<sup>2</sup> and sometimes '*Kāla-kaṇṭha*'<sup>3</sup> on the basis of the quotations made from it in the commentaries and Nibandhas. These quotations and references show that the earlier *Kālikā-p.* contained, among others, the following interlocutors, viz., (i) Tṛṇavindu and Anilāda, (ii) Sanaka, Sanat-

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refer to *Smṛti-tattva* 1, pp. 67-68, 67 and 60 respectively ). The references to the *Haribhaktivilāsa* also are all found in the present *Haribhaktivilāsa* ( ed. Śyāmā-carāṇa Kaviratna, Calcutta ) ascribed to Gopālabhaṭṭa. ( For instance, *Kālasūra*, p. 118 refers to *Haribh.*, p. 905; *Kālasūra*, p. 140 to *Haribh.*, p. 794; *Kālasūra*, p. 165 to *Haribh.*, pp. 895 and 897-8; and so on ). Hence the *Kālasūra* must be dated not earlier than 1600 A. D. Haraprasad Shastri also includes Gadādhara among those Smṛti-writers who flourished in the 17th and 18th centuries A. D. ( See Shastri, *Descr. Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, ASB., III, Preface, p. xxxvii ).

The date ( 1450-1500 A. D. ), assigned to Gadādhara by P. V. Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 530 and 692, requires modification.

<sup>1</sup> The *Samvatsara-pradīpa* ( Dacca University Ms. No. 4632 ) does not quote any *Kālikā-p.* even in its section on the *Durgā-pūjā*.

<sup>2</sup> See the lists of Upapurāṇas ( Nos. VIII, XII, XVI, XVII and XVIII ) in my article on 'The Upapurāṇas' in *ABORI*, Vol. XXI ( pp. 43-48 ).

<sup>3</sup> See Hazra in *ABORI*, XXI, pp. 43 and 44 ( footnote 1 ).



kumāra and Kāvya-kūta (?) and (iii) Sūrya and his devotees, and was a rich store of Smṛti materials. The multifarious Smṛti topics, dealt with in this Purāṇa, included the following: (a) donations (of gold, houses, thousand cows, canopy, kṛṣṇājina, ghṛta-kambala, Narasiṃha, etc.),<sup>1</sup> (b) duties of castes and āśramas<sup>2</sup>, (c) worship of Kālikā<sup>3</sup> and Śiva,<sup>4</sup> (d) Vratas (viz., Aviyoga-vrata, Bhāskara-vrata, Soma-vrata, Śaṃkarārka-vrata, etc.)<sup>5</sup> (e) Saura-dharmas,<sup>6</sup> (f) Iṣṭā-pūrta,<sup>7</sup> (g) Vyavahāra<sup>8</sup> and (h) Śrāddha.<sup>9</sup> Besides these the earlier *Kālikā-p.* also might have contained among other things a song (gīta) called Rovindaka.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, pp. 377-8; *Dānasāgara*, fols. 131a, 171b-172a, 182b-183a, 217b-218a; *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, fol. 179a; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 34, 156, 258-261, 568, 575-6, 589, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Madana-pūrijāta*, p. 228 (on vaiśya-vṛtti); *Parūsara-bhāṣya*, I, ii, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*, p. 15; *Durgapūjā-tattva*, pp. 8-9. (One of the ten verses quoted in *Durgapūjā-tattva*, pp. 8-9 is found in *Durgotsava-niveka*, p. 11).

<sup>4</sup> *Nityācūra-pradīpa*, p. 694; *Viramitrodaya*, Pūjā-prakāśa, pp. 226-232. (These verses, dealing with mahāsnāna, ghṛtābhiseka, ghṛtadhārā and śiva-jāgara in Śiva-worship, are the same as those given in the Pūjā-kāṇḍa of Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtya-kalpataru*. See Dr. Raghavan in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, XII, 1938, p. 332). See also *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, Śānti kāṇḍa for 'rudra-japa-vidhi' (Dr. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 333).

<sup>5</sup> *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Vol. II.

<sup>6</sup> *Nityācūra-pradīpa*, pp. 684-5. (This extract is also found in *Viramitrodaya*, Pūjā-prakāśa, pp. 308-9. See also *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 36 for two of its lines).

<sup>7</sup> *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, Brahmacāri-kāṇḍa. (The quotation is reproduced in *Viramitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 44). See Dr. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

<sup>8</sup> *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa. See Dr. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

<sup>9</sup> *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Vol. III.

<sup>10</sup> By ascribing the song 'śaṇḍaṃ śaṇḍaṃ jagapati etc.' to both the '*Bhagavati-p.*' and the '*Kālikākhyā-p.*' Nānyadeva makes a confusion between these two Purāṇic works, which, as we shall see afterwards, are quite different, and not identical, as Nānyadeva took them to be. This confusion may be due to the fact that, like the *Bhagavati-p.*, the *Kālikā-p.* also dealt with the exploits of 'Bhagavati' (cf. ....bhagavatya idam bhāgavatam iti kālikāpurāṇam bhāgavata-padenoktam iti ye vadanti te nirastāḥ.—*Nityācūra-pradīpa*, p. 18), or that due to its treatment of the exploits of Bhagavati the *Kālikā-p.* was wrongly designated as '*Bhagavati-p.*' by Nānyadeva.

A careful examination of these quotations further shows that the earlier *Kālikā-p.*, unlike the *present* one, had scarcely any Tantric element in its rituals. The long quotations given in the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*<sup>1</sup> and the *Kṛtya-ratnākara* ( fols. 163b f. and 179a ) on the details of the different devotional vows and worships are totally free from Tāntric influence. The procedure is purely Purāṇic, and the Mantras to be used are very often Purāṇic and sometimes Vedic. A quotation made by Aparārka ( com., p. 15 ) on the method of painting magic collyrium on the eyes for vaśikaraṇa, however, shows that though the earlier *Kālikā-p.* had its rituals free from Tantric elements, it could not overcome the temptation for attaining magic power, of which the Śāktas are so fond. That the earlier *Kālikā-p.* had little or no Tantric element can be further proved by another piece of evidence adduced by Ballālasena who was not at all favourably disposed towards the Tantriks and their scriptures and practices. By way of explaining why he rejected some of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas partly or wholly in his *Dānasūgara* Ballālasena says that the *Devī-p.*, which was excluded from the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas due to its treatment of sinful acts, was rejected by him because of its Tantric character,<sup>2</sup> and that the *Bhaviṣya-p.* was utilised by him up to the chapters dealing with the Saptamī (-kalpa), while those on the Aṣṭamī and Navamī (-kalpa) were rejected on account of their imbibing Tantric influence<sup>3</sup>; but he expresses no such opinion regarding the '*Kālikā-p.*' known to him. On the other hand, he quotes 40 verses on gifts from the '*Kālikā-p.*' So, it is sure that the '*Kālikā-p.*' known to Ballālasena must have been free from Tantric elements. Although Ballālasena names a set of spurious Purāṇas, viz., *Tār-kṣya* ( i. e. *Gūruḍa* ), *Brāhma*, *Āgneya*, *Vaiṣṇava* of 23000 ślokas

<sup>1</sup> See *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 738-9, 928-930; II, i, pp. 237-9, 439-444, etc.; II, ii, pp. 149-151, 179-180, 326-332, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Dānasūgara*, fol. 4<sup>a</sup>—

tattat-purāṇopapurāṇa-saṃkhyā-bahiṣkṛtaṃ kalmaṣa-karma-yogāt |  
pāṣaṇḍa-śāstrānumataṃ nirūpya devī-purāṇaṃ na nibandh(?)ddh) -  
am atra ||

<sup>3</sup> *Dānasūgara*, fol. 3b—

saptamyavadhi purāṇaṃ bhaviṣyam api saṃgrhītaṃ atiyatnāt |  
tyaktvāṣṭamī-navamyoh (?) °myau ) kanyau (?) kalau ) pāṣaṇḍibhir  
grastau (?) °ste ) ||

<sup>2</sup> [ *Annals*, B. O. R. I. ]

and Liṅga of 6000 ślokaś, which were influenced by Tantricism,<sup>1</sup> his silence regarding the existence of any second *Kālikā-p.*<sup>2</sup> in his time, is remarkable and shows that the present *Kālikā-p.*, which is full of Tantric elements, was unknown in his days.

The quoted verses further show that, unlike the present *Kālikā-p.* wherein Viṣṇu has been given a superior position by an identification of the primal Kālikā with his Yoga-nidrā and Māyā, the earlier *Kālikā-p.* allowed Śiva a prominent place. It is for this reason that in one of the quoted verses Śiva is called the highest deity<sup>3</sup> and the worship of Śiva or his liṅga is ordained in many of the vows and worships.<sup>4</sup>

Let us now discuss the date of the earlier *Kālikā-p.* In his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* Hemādri quotes, from the '*Kālikā-p.*', five lines which give a list of eighteen Purāṇas including the

1 *Dūnasāgara*, fol. 4<sup>a</sup>—

tārksyaṃ purāṇam aparāṃ brāhman āgneyam eva ca  
trayoviṃśati-sāhasryaṃ purāṇam api vaiṣṇavam ॥  
ṣaṭ-sāhasra-mitaṃ liṅgaṃ purāṇam aparāṃ tathā ।  
dikṣā-pratiṣṭhā-pāṣaṇḍa-mukti-ratna-parikṣaṇaiḥ ॥  
mr̥ṣā-vamśānucaritaiḥ koṣa-vyākaraṇādibhiḥ ।  
asaṅgata-kathā-bandha-paraspara-virodhitaiḥ ॥  
tan mīna-ketanādīnāṃ bhaṇḍa-pāṣaṇḍa-liṅginām ।  
loka-vañcanam ālokyā sarvam evāvarī(?)dhī)ritam ॥

2 The conjunct consonant preceding 'ya' in the word 'Kālikā||yam' [occurring in the line 'ādyāṃ purāṇaṃ sāmāṃ ca kālikā( )yam eva ca' in *Dūnasāgara*, fol. 2<sup>a</sup>] is too difficult to be deciphered. Though it may be read both as 'hva' and 'dva,' the former reading must be accepted; because, of the *Kūrma* and the *Ādi-p.* which are mentioned (in *Dūnasāgara*, fol. 2a) as containing the names of the Upapurāṇas, the former gives a list of these works in its Pūrvabhāga, chap. 1 and invariably reads 'Kālikāhvayam' (see my article on 'The Upapurāṇas' in *ABORI*, Vol. XXI, pp. 40, 43, footnotes 2, 1-2, 1-2 and 1-2 respectively). As we have not been able to find within our reach a printed copy or a Ms of the *Ādi-p.*, a work quite different from the later *Ādi* published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, we are quite ignorant of its reading. The reading 'Kālikāhvayam', however, is further supported by the word 'Viṣṇudharmottarā[hva]yam' in which the conjunct consonant preceding 'ya' and written in exactly the same way as that before 'ya' in 'Kālikā||yam' must be read as 'hva' and not as 'dva'. Eggeling also accepts the reading 'Kālikāhvayam' in his *Ind. Off. Cat.*, III, p. 543.

3 *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, p. 665—śaṅkarāt paramaṃ nānyat.....

4 See *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 568, 575-6, etc.; *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, fols. 163<sup>b</sup> ff., 179<sup>a</sup>; *Nityācāra-pradīpikā*, p. 694; and so on.

'*Kālikā*' which is called the 'original *Bhāgavata*.'<sup>1</sup> So, the earlier *Kālikā-p.*, which thus lay claim to the position of the *Bhāgavata-p.*, must have been written at a time when the position of the latter had already become enviable. As the *Bhāgavata-p.* is to be assigned to the sixth century A. D. and most probably to the former half of that century,<sup>2</sup> the earlier *Kālikā-p.* could not have been written earlier than 650 A. D. Again, the numerous quotations made from the '*Kālikā-p.*' by Nānyadeva, Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka, Ballālasena, Hemādri and others, who flourished in different parts of India, show that the earlier *Kālikā-p.* must have been written not later than 900 A. D. In his *Durgotsava-viveka* Śūlapāṇi quotes two verses, viz. 'upavāsaṃ mahāṣṭamyāṃ' and 'upavāsaṃ tu tasyāṃ vai,' and points out that the second verse was known to Śrīkara.<sup>3</sup> Now, of these two verses the first is the same as *Kālikā-p.* (Venkaṭ. ed.) 63, 16b-17a, but the second, which is not found in the present *Kālikā-p.*, is one of the ten verses quoted by Raghunandana in his *Durgūpajātattva* (pp. 8-9) from a 'duṣprāpa-kālikā-purāṇa-

- 1      śaivaṃ yad vāyunā proktaṃ vairiṇoim vaiṣṇavaṃ tathā ।  
          yad idaṃ kālikākhyam ca mūlaṃ bhāgavataṃ smṛtaṃ ॥  
          sauram ca nārādīyaṃ ca mārkandīyaṃ ca vahnijam ।  
          vūmanaṃ kaurmaṃ mātṣyaṃ ca saptadaśaṃ ca gāruḍam ।  
          brahmāṇḍam aṣṭādaśaṃ jñeyaṃ purāṇam ca na saṃśayaḥ ॥

Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 531.

The first two lines are also found quoted in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II. i, p. 22 (with v. l. 'sauram eva ca' for 'vaiṣṇavaṃ tathā,' and 'yat' for 'ca').

2      See R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 55.

3      *Durgotsava-viveka*, p. 17.

yasmin dine mahāṣṭamī-pūjā tasmin dine evopavāso na tu saṃdhi-  
 pūjā-dine, aṣṭamītenopavāsa-vidhānāt । jyeṣṭha-putravato gṛhastha-  
 sya tanniṣedham āha kālikā-purāṇam—

upavāsaṃ mahāṣṭamyāṃ putravān na samācaret ।  
 yathā tathaiva pūtātmaṃ vrati devīm prapūjayet ॥

putravān jyeṣṭha-putravān । tatraiva—

upavāsaṃ tu tasyāṃ vai mahāpātaka-nāśanam ।  
 gṛhiṇā na tu kartavyaṃ jyeṣṭha-putravatā sadā ॥

.....atra kālī-purāṇīya-vacanottarārḍhe putravata upavāsetara-  
 haviṣyānnādīnā pūjā-vidhānāt tasya pūjāṅga-mahāṣṭamī-nimittakopavāsa-  
 nya niṣedho na tu pratimāsa-kartavyāṣṭamī-nimittakopavāsa-niṣedha iti  
 śrīkaraḥ (v. l. 'śrīdattaḥ' for 'śrīkaraḥ'; Dacca University Mss. have  
 'śrīkaraḥ').

ntara.' Hence Śrīkara,<sup>1</sup> who knew the second verse, must have been acquainted with the earlier *Kālikā-p.*, which, therefore, must be dated not later than 800 A. D. We have said elsewhere<sup>2</sup> that the group of eighteen Upapurāṇas was first formed between 650 and 800 A. D.; and all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas containing the name of a '*Kālikā*,' or '*Kālī-p.*' the earlier *Kālikā-p.* should be dated between 650 and 750 A. D. and most probably in the latter half of the seventh century.

This fairly early origin and the non-Tantric character of the earlier *Kālikā-p.* show that it was certainly composed by the Smārta Brāhman sectaries, and most probably by the Smārta Śāktas, with its rituals rendered free from Tantric elements.<sup>3</sup> But in course of time serious changes came over the Hindu society with the spread of Tantricism. Consequently, in spite of its great authority in the eyes of the comparatively early authors who had no regard for Tantricism, it could not hold ground very long among the people as it failed to satisfy their fresh needs, especially ritualistic, created by the spread of Tantricism. Consequently, it could be replaced by the present *Kālikā-p.* which abounds in Tantric elements; and Bengal, which is adjacent to Assam, being a hot bed of Tantricism from fairly early days, the present *Kālikā-p.* was accepted here first of all before it could be regarded as authoritative by the Smṛti-writers of other provinces where the hold of the Brahmanical religion, at least upon the Smṛti-writers, did not become loose as early as in Bengal.

Though, as we have seen above, the earlier *Kālikā-p.* lay claim to the position of a '*Purāṇa*,' and more, to the status of the '*original Bhāgavata*'<sup>4</sup> and this claim was also supported by a section of people,<sup>5</sup> it has not only been included in all the

<sup>1</sup> According to P. V. Kane, 'Śrīkara must be placed somewhere between 800 and 1050 A. D. and probably flourished in the ninth century.' Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *ABORI*, Vol. XXI, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion on the Purāṇas in the second stage of their development see R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 215-222.

<sup>4</sup> See foot-note 1 on p. 11 above. <sup>5</sup> Cf. the verse

bhagavatyāś ca durgāyāś caritaṃ yatra vartate |

tat tu bhāgavatam proktaṃ na tu devipurāṇakam ||

( continued on the next page )

lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas but has expressly been called an Upapurāṇa by such noted Smṛti-writers as Lakṣmīdhara (author of the *Kṛtya-kalpataru*),<sup>1</sup> Ballālasena<sup>2</sup> and Narasiṃha Vājapeyin.<sup>3</sup>

From what has been said above it is clear that the present *Kālikū-p.* is a work quite different from the earlier *Kālikū-p.*<sup>4</sup> and that it was unknown in Bengal in Ballālasena's time but in western and southern parts of India it became known only from the end of the sixteenth century A. D.

We shall now try to determine the date of the present *Kālikū-p.*

The extant *Kālikū* not only knows the rāsis<sup>5</sup> and week-days<sup>6</sup> and the 'ten forms'<sup>7</sup> of Viṣṇu, of which the 'Matsya,' 'Kūrma' and 'Varāha' have been dealt with elaborately in chaps. 25-35, but is also remarkably indebted, for many of its ideas and expressions, to Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-sambhava* and Māgha's *Śiśupāla-vadha*<sup>8</sup> and most probably to the *Devī-p.* also.<sup>9</sup> Hence the date

(continued from the previous page)

occurring in an Uttara-khaṇḍa (chap. 23) claiming to be a section of the *Śiva-p.*—Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1357.

That the above verse points to the *Kālikū-p.* is shown by the line '..... bhagavatya idaṃ bhāgavatam iti kālikā-purāṇam bhāgavata-padenoktam iti ye vadanti.....' occurring in *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 18.

<sup>1</sup> 'aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇam yat tu dṛṣyate |

vijñānidhvaṃ muni-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam ||

vinirgatam samudbhūtam | yathā kālikā-purāṇādīnīti lakṣmīdharaḥ |

*Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Dānasāgara*, fol. 2a—

uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca |

ādyam purāṇam śāmbam ca kālikābhayaṃ eva ca ||

etc.

etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> As none of the verses quoted by Nānyadeva, Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka, Ballālasena and others from the earlier *Kālikū-p.* is found in our present *Kālikū*, it is extremely hazardous to say that the present *Kālikū* has retained chapters or verses from the earlier one, or that the present *Kālikū* is the result of a recast to which the earlier one was subjected.

<sup>5</sup> *Kālikū-p.* 20, 130; 61, 25; 6<sup>a</sup>, 6; 63, 2, 7; etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 90, 47 and 49.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 34, 30 (yasya te daśadhā mūrtiḥ.....).

<sup>8</sup> See Dr. Raghavan in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XII, 1938, pp. 332 and 337 (where he mentions another article contributed by him to the Woolner Commemoration Volume).

<sup>9</sup> *Devī-p.* (Vaṅga. ed.) 65, 65f.; 66, 13f.; and chap. 67=*Kālikū-p.* 89, 48f.; 89, 60f.; and 89, 73f. respectively.

of the present *Kālikā-p.* which, as we have already seen above, was composed somewhere in, or very near about Kāmarūpa, cannot be placed before 750 A. D.

Again, by his reference to the story of Kālikā's manifestation in Kātyāyana's hermitage as a result of the latter's curse on Mahiṣa who fascinated a disciple of Kātyāyana by taking the form of a female as occurring in the '*Kālikā-p.*'<sup>1</sup> Nilakanṭha points definitely to *Kālikā-p.* 62, 95f.; Anantabhaṭṭa quotes verses from chap. 91 in his *Vidhāna-pūrijāta* (Bibl. Ind. ed., Vol. 1), Mitra Miśra from chaps. 57, 59, 91 and 92 in his *Vīramitrodaya*, Gadādhara from chap. 69 in his *Kūlasūra*, Raghunandana from chaps. 54, 57, 59-63, 66, 67, 69, 71-74, 83, 86, 90 and 91 in his *Smṛti-tattva* and from chaps. 54, 57, 60-63, 69, 71-74 and 91 in his *Durgapūjā-tattva*, Kṛṣṇānanda Āgama-vāgiśa from chaps. 57 and 71 in his *Tantra-sūtra* (ed. Prasanna Kr. Shastri, Calcutta), Govindānanda from chaps. 57 and 73 in his *Dṇakriyā-kaumudī* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), from chaps. 57, 60, 62 and 73 in his *Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), from chaps. 57, 71, and 73 in his *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī* (Bibl. Ind. ed.) and from chaps. 55-57, 59-63, 66, 67, 69-75, 77, 83, 84, 86 and 89 in his *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), Srināthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi from chaps. 57, 60, 63 and 71 in his *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* (Dacca University Ms. No. 49), and Śūlapāṇi from chaps. 61-63, 69, 71 and 73 in his *Durgotsava-viveka* and from chap. 91 in his *Rūsayātraviveka* (Dacca University Ms. No. 3350); and the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* (Vaṅga. ed.), by its mention of the '*Kāli-p.*' as dealing elaborately with the greatest holy place created on the bank of the Brahma-nada by the fall of the female organ of Satī,<sup>2</sup> refers definitely to the present *Kālikā-p.*

<sup>1</sup> See Nilakanṭha's commentary on *Devī-bhāgavata* V, 8, 34-37—  
ayaṃ cāvatāraḥ purāṇāntara-prasiddhe kātyāyanāśrame kātyāyana-  
śiṣyaṃ strī-rūpeṇa, mohayantaṃ dṛṣtvā kātyāyanaḥ strī tvāṃ haṇi-  
yatīti śaptavān iti tad-āśrame eva rūpa-dhāraṇam iti kālikā-purāṇe  
spṛṣṭam.

For information about Nilakanṭha, who was a Brahman scholar of Mahārāṣṭra and wrote his com. on the *Mahābhārata* at Benares in the last quarter of the 17th century, see Ādi-parvan of the *Mahābhārata* (ed. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Poona 1933), Prolegomena, p. lxx.

<sup>2</sup> *Bṛhaddharma-p.* (Vaṅga. ed.) II, 10, 37-38 (=Bibl. Ind. ed., Madhyak., Chap. 40, verses 37-38)—

Hence the present *Kālikā-p.* must be dated earlier than 1300 A. D. <sup>1</sup> If a period of two hundred years be allowed for its attaining the position of a genuine and authoritative Purāṇa so that it could be recognised as such by Śūlapāṇi even without a shade of doubt, then the present *Kālikā-p.* must be placed about 1100 A. D. The large proportion of Tantric elements in its rituals, as compared with those contained in other Purāṇas, tends to show that the present *Kālikā-p.* is a work most probably of the tenth or eleventh century A. D. <sup>2</sup>

In spite of the numerous digressions which often create serious interruptions in the main topics, the present *Kālikā-p.* is generally a unified work. The general integrity of its contents is established not only by their close inter-relation but also by the absence of any irrelevance or incongruity in the stories, by the constant cross-references to different topics <sup>3</sup> dealt with in this Purāṇa, and by the use of the word 'nacira' (for 'acira') throughout the whole Purāṇa. <sup>4</sup> Hence the above date of the Purāṇa can be taken to be the date of the entire work. Of course, there may be some verses here and there which were interpolated later, but these are not many and important.

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( continued from the previous page )

tīrtha-cūḍāmaṇis tatra yatra yoniḥ papāta ha |  
tīre brahma-nadākhyasya mahāyoga-śthalaṃ hi tat ||  
kāli-purāṇe vijñeyaṃ mune vivaraṇaṃ tataḥ |  
māhātmyaṃ tasya deśasya viṣṇur jñāti nāparaḥ ||

According to Jogesh Chandra Roy the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* was composed some time after the 13th century A. D. See J. C. Roy in *Bhāratavarṇa* ( a Bengali monthly journal ), Vol. XVII, Part ii, p. 677. It is highly probable that this Purāṇic work was composed towards the beginning of the fourteenth century A. D.

<sup>1</sup> Farquhar's view that the present *Kālikā-p.* 'probably comes from a date near the beginning of the period' 1350-1800 A. D. is obviously wrong. See J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> Jogesh Chandra Roy also assigns this *Kālikā-p.* to the tenth century A. D. See *Bhāratavarṇa* ( a Bengali monthly journal ), Vol. XVII, Part ii, p. 677.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, *Kālikā-p.* 19, 58 refers to chap. 2; 25, 2-3 refer to chaps. 25 ( verses 4f. )-28; 30, 1 refers to 27, 28f.; 32, 1-4 refer to chaps. 32 ( verses 5f. )-36; 35, 44 refers to 26, 54-55; and so on.

<sup>4</sup> See *Kālikā-p.* 33, 30; 39, 134; 53, 61, 73, 75, etc.; 57, 104.

The word 'nacira,' which is used in the form 'nacireṇa' or 'nacirāt,' seems to have been a very favourite one to the author of the present *Kālikā-p.*



Though the present *Kālikā-p.* is a late work, attempts have been made in it for giving it a garb of antiquity. It is said that the topics to be dealt with in this Purāṇa were handed down from Brahmā through Nārada, Vāḷakhilyas, Yavakṛita and Asita successively until they reached Mārkaṇḍeya, the narrator of this Purāṇa,<sup>1</sup> and that Vasiṣṭha, who had read and heard this '*Kālikā-p.*' from Mārkaṇḍeya, concealed it in Kāmarūpa, the land of gods, until it was revealed by Mārkaṇḍeya to the sages.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the fact that the present *Kālikā-p.* very often calls itself 'Purāṇa'<sup>3</sup> but never an 'Upapurāṇa,' it contains very little of 'Vamśānucarita'<sup>4</sup> and nothing of 'Vamśa' and 'Manvantara.' On the other hand, it not only contains various interesting myths and legends,<sup>5</sup> important materials for the study of Śākta iconography, the names and positions of mountains, rivers and holy places chiefly of Kāmarūpa, and the like, but gives us valuable information regarding the literature known to it. It has already been said that the *Kālikā-p.* has utilised Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-sambhava*, Māgha's *Śiśupāla-vadha*, and most probably the *Devī-p.* also. It recognises the Āgamas, Purāṇas and Saṃhitās as sources of 'sadācāra'<sup>6</sup> and mentions a Nītiśāstra ascribed to Brahmā,<sup>7</sup> Dharmaśāstras ascribed to Dakṣa<sup>8</sup> and Svayambhū,<sup>9</sup> Rājanītiśāstras of Uśanas and Bṛhaspati,<sup>10</sup> the *Nārada-pañcarātra* (?)<sup>11</sup>, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* spoken out by Mārkaṇḍeya<sup>12</sup>, and a work called *Śivamṛta*, of 18 Paṭalas, compiled

<sup>1</sup> *Kālikā-p.* 1, 16-18,

<sup>2</sup> *Kālikā-p.* 93, 30-32.

<sup>3</sup> See *Kālikā-p.* 1, 3; 91, 72; 93, 22, 31, 34 and 35; and so on. See also the chapter-colophons.

<sup>4</sup> It gives only the account of Naraka and his descendants.

<sup>5</sup> Such as those of the birth and exploits of Kāma and the Māras, of the birth of Arundhatī and her marriage with Vasiṣṭha, of the birth and exploits of Naraka, and so on.

<sup>6</sup> *Kālikā-p.* 88, 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Kālikā-p.* 20, 42-43.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 20, 51.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 87, 99 and 130.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 83, 141.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 91, 70; and 92, 1-2. Cf. also 1, 4-9.

The '*Viṣṇudharmottara*' mentioned in the *Kālikā-p.* is undoubtedly the same as the extant *Viṣṇudharmottara* which also deals with 'rāja-nīti,' 'sadācāra,' etc. and is declared by Mārkaṇḍeya.

by Bhairava on the basis of the instructions he received from Śiva and dealing with the procedure of the worship of Mahāmāyā.<sup>1</sup> Further, in the chapters on Devī-worship there is mention of 'kāmeśvarī-tantra,' 'tripurā-tantra,' 'umā-tantra,' 'kāmakhyā-tantra,' 'vaiṣṇavī-tantra,' 'devī-tantra,' 'durgā-tantra,' 'ugracandā-tantra,' 'bhairavī-tantra' and 'uttarā-tantra';<sup>2</sup> but these, except 'uttarā-tantra' which seems to be the name of a work, most probably mean the procedures of the worship of the respective deities named in them, the deities Kāmeśvarī, Tripurā, Umā etc. being the different forms of Mahāmāyā.<sup>3</sup>

Besides the extinct and the extant *Kālikā-purāṇas* mentioned above, a Ms has been found of another *Kālikā-p.* which is also called *Kālyā* (? *Kālī*)-*purāṇa* and *Satī-purāṇa*.<sup>4</sup> This as well as the *Caṇḍī-p.*<sup>5</sup> and *Bhagavatī-p.*<sup>6</sup> are works quite different from the extinct and the extant *Kālikā-purāṇas* and will be examined thoroughly in their respective places.

<sup>1</sup> *Kālikā-p.* 54, 5 and 7-9

<sup>2</sup> See *Kālikā-p.*, chaps. 58-68 and 78.

<sup>3</sup> *Kālikā-p.* 60, 48-54.

<sup>4</sup> Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, pp. 1193-98 ( No. 3344 ).

<sup>5</sup> R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. Mss.* I, pp. 208-9 ( No. 370 ).

Also Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, pp. 1202-5 ( Nos. 3360-61 ).

<sup>6</sup> R. L. Mitra, *Bikaner Cat.*, p. 187 ( No. 415 ).

3 [ *Annals*, B. O. R. I. ]

## APPENDIX I

Verses quoted from the ' *Kālikā-p.* '

( or ' *Kālī-p.* ) in

<i>Kālikā-p.</i>	<i>Kālikā-p.</i>
1. <i>Durgotsava-viveka</i> of Sulapāṇi, p. 1 = 63, 12 <sup>b</sup> -13 and 11. p. 6=69, 1 and 8 <sup>a</sup> . p. 7=62, 7 <sup>b</sup> . p. 12=69, 35 ; 62, 7c. p. 13=73, 100-102 <sup>a</sup> . p. 17=63, 16 <sup>b</sup> -17 <sup>a</sup> The verse 'upavāsam tu tasyām vai,' which is one of the ten ver- ses derived by Raghunan- dana from a 'dusprāpa-kā- likā-purāṇāntara' is not found in the present <i>Kālikā-</i> <i>purāṇa</i> . p. 18=63, 14 <sup>b</sup> -15 <sup>a</sup> . The line 'balibhir meghavarṇaiś ca' is not found. pp. 18-19=71, 97 <sup>b</sup> -98 <sup>a</sup> , 99 <sup>b</sup> and 23-24 <sup>a</sup> . p. 21=71, 22, 20 <sup>a</sup> and 21 <sup>a</sup> . p. 22=62, 23. p. 24=63, 18 <sup>a</sup> and 21-22 <sup>a</sup> . (The Purāṇa reads 'bhaga- liṅgādi-śabdais ca kṛdaye- yur alam janāḥ' for 'bhaga- liṅga-kriyābhīś ca kṛḍa- yeyur alajjitāḥ'). p. 27=61, 29-30 <sup>a</sup> . 2. <i>Rūsayūtrā-viveka</i> of Śulapāṇi, fol. 4 <sup>a</sup> =91, 7 <sup>b</sup> -8 <sup>a</sup> .	3. <i>Kṛtya-tattvārṇava</i> of Śrī-nāthācārya-cūdāmaṇi, fol. 61 <sup>a</sup> -b=60, 31-32 <sup>a</sup> ; 63, 21 <sup>b</sup> - 23 <sup>a</sup> . Two verses 'bilva- patrair yajed devīm' and 'māhātmyam bhagavatyās ca' are not found. fol. 61 <sup>b</sup> =63, 16 <sup>b</sup> . fol. 73 <sup>a</sup> -80 <sup>b</sup> =57, 89 <sup>b</sup> -92, 94-95, and 98; 71, 2 <sup>b</sup> -10 <sup>a</sup> , 11-12, 14-15, 17-18 <sup>a</sup> 19-20 <sup>a</sup> , 21 <sup>b</sup> -28, 30- 37, 40-45 <sup>a</sup> , 46 <sup>b</sup> -47, 48 <sup>b</sup> -52 <sup>a</sup> , 55 <sup>a</sup> , 56 <sup>b</sup> -58, 91 <sup>b</sup> -93, 95 <sup>b</sup> -96 <sup>a</sup> , 97 <sup>b</sup> - 98 <sup>a</sup> , 99 <sup>b</sup> -100 <sup>a</sup> , 108 <sup>b</sup> , 105 <sup>b</sup> -108 <sup>a</sup> , 109 <sup>a</sup> . 4. <i>Dānakriyā-kaumudī</i> of Govindānanda, pp. 41-42=73, 123 <sup>b</sup> -c, 112 <sup>b</sup> -113 <sup>a</sup> , 113 <sup>b</sup> -114 <sup>a</sup> and 125. p. 100=57, 97 <sup>a</sup> . 5. <i>Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī</i> of Govindānanda, p. 2=57, 90 <sup>b</sup> , 91 <sup>b</sup> -c and 95. p. 74=57, 91 <sup>b</sup> -c. p. 172=57, 97 <sup>a</sup> . p. 180=57, 96-97. pp. 187-8=57, 88 <sup>b</sup> -98. p. 188=60, 24 <sup>b</sup> -25. p. 246=62, 6 <sup>a</sup> . p. 313=73, 2-3 <sup>a</sup> . (The line 'nīlī- raktam' resembles 73, 12).

## Kūlikā-p.

6. *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī*  
of Govindānanda,  
pp. 13-14=71, 16-17.  
p. 15=57, 99<sup>b</sup>.  
p. 145=73, 109<sup>b</sup>, 119<sup>b</sup>-12, 1 14<sup>a</sup>  
and 125.  
p. 146=73, 2-3<sup>a</sup>  
p. 356=57, 97.
7. *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī*  
of Govindānanda,  
p. 119=57, 99<sup>a</sup>. The line 'sar-  
vāṇi parakīyāṇi' and the  
verse 'śuciḥ sammukha  
āsīnaḥ' are not found.  
p. 120=57, 101 and 100<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 138=77, 6<sup>b</sup>-7<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 141=56, 12.  
p. 143=55, 4. The verse 'ātmā-  
bhedenā vidhivat' is not  
found.  
p. 147=60, 24<sup>b</sup>-25.  
p. 154=70, 44-45.  
p. 156=70, 35<sup>b</sup>-36<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 157=73, 100-101.  
pp. 158-159=59, 139<sup>b</sup>-141. Eight  
lines from 'arghyapātrā-  
hitaḥ toyaiḥ' are not found  
p. 161=72, 2; 72, 4<sup>b</sup>-42<sup>a</sup>. The  
verse 'vasvaṅgula-vihīnaṃ  
tu' and the line 'dadyāt  
tu kāmasya-pātreṇa' are not  
found.  
p. 162 = 73, 2-3<sup>a</sup>. (The line  
'nīli-raktam' resembles 73,  
12).  
73, 51.  
p. 171=73, 144<sup>b</sup> and 149.  
pp. 171-2 = 73, 109<sup>b</sup>, 119<sup>b</sup>-120,  
113<sup>b</sup>-114<sup>a</sup> and 145.

## Kūlikā-p.

- p. 172=73, 118<sup>b</sup>-119<sup>a</sup>, 112<sup>b</sup>-113<sup>a</sup>  
and 123<sup>b</sup>-c.  
pp. 173-4=71, 109<sup>b</sup>-111<sup>a</sup>  
p. 177=75, 9<sup>b</sup>-11.  
p. 179=59, 168; 83, 170-172<sup>a</sup>.  
pp. 365-6=62, 1-2<sup>a</sup>, 5<sup>b</sup>-6, 7<sup>b</sup>-9<sup>a</sup>,  
7<sup>a</sup> and 9<sup>b</sup>-10.  
p. 366=71, 49<sup>b</sup>-50<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 367=62, 25<sup>a</sup>.  
pp. 371-2=62, 19; 60, 31-32<sup>a</sup>.  
pp. 373-4=63, 14<sup>b</sup> and 15<sup>b</sup>-16<sup>a</sup>;  
60, 30; 62, 26<sup>b</sup>-27<sup>a</sup> and 29<sup>b</sup>-  
31; 62, 15; 62, 23.  
pp. 375-6=63, 11-14<sup>a</sup>  
p. 377=63, 18<sup>b</sup>-19<sup>a</sup>.  
pp. 377-8=63, 20<sup>a</sup> and 21-23<sup>a</sup>  
p. 378=62, 20<sup>b</sup>  
p. 379=63, 16<sup>b</sup>-17<sup>a</sup>; 62, 19<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 383=57, 101 and 100<sup>a</sup>.  
pp. 383-4=66, 17<sup>b</sup>-19; 73, 100-  
101; 72, 2; 57, 99<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 385=73, 2-3<sup>a</sup>, 51, 57<sup>a</sup> and 58<sup>b</sup>.  
(The line 'nīli-raktam'  
resembles 73, 12).  
p. 386=73, 145<sup>b</sup>-146<sup>a</sup>.  
pp. 387-390=73, 153<sup>b</sup>-154<sup>a</sup> and  
155<sup>b</sup>-156<sup>a</sup>; 73, 156<sup>b</sup>-157<sup>a</sup>,  
159<sup>a</sup> and 160<sup>a</sup>; 74, 2<sup>a</sup>, 3<sup>b</sup>-  
4<sup>a</sup>, 16, 17<sup>a</sup>, 15, 4<sup>b</sup>-7, 12<sup>a</sup> and  
13<sup>b</sup>. [The lines 'upaskṛtāni  
māṃsāni' (p. 388) and  
'pūjāsu nāmamāṃsāni' (p.  
388) and the verse 'kumu-  
dānām paṅkajānām' (p. 389)  
are not found];  
62, 46<sup>b</sup>-47<sup>a</sup> and 48<sup>a</sup>; 74, 28<sup>b</sup>-  
29<sup>a</sup>; 57, 59-60; 59, 139<sup>b</sup>-141  
(eight lines from 'arghya-

## Kālikā-p.

- pātrāhitais toyaiḥ' are not found); 62, 9<sup>b</sup>. The verse 'tāro durge dvayam rephaḥ' is not found.
- p. 392=62, 50<sup>b</sup>-53; the line 'māyā-lakṣmī-padādyena' is not found; 61, 21 (=67, 20-21<sup>a</sup>). The line 'pūrvā-disu' is not found.
- p. 393=67, 13<sup>b</sup> and 14<sup>b</sup>-15 (the line 'tato devyāḥ samnidhāne' is not found); 67, 19; 61, 14<sup>b</sup>-16<sup>a</sup>; 62, 108; 69, 44<sup>b</sup>-45<sup>a</sup>.
- p. 394=62, 50<sup>a</sup>; 71, 3-5<sup>a</sup>. The line 'aṅgādi-lokapālāntam' is not found.
- pp. 394-5=71, 95<sup>b</sup>-96<sup>a</sup>, 97<sup>b</sup>-98, 99<sup>b</sup>-100<sup>a</sup> and 102<sup>b</sup>.
- pp. 395-6=71, 5<sup>b</sup>-12, 22, 15, 18 and 23.
- p. 396=71, 40<sup>a</sup> and 16-17.
- p. 397=71, 42 and 43<sup>b</sup>-44<sup>a</sup>; 71, 46<sup>b</sup>-47, 49<sup>b</sup>-51<sup>a</sup>, 112<sup>b</sup>-114<sup>a</sup>, 51<sup>b</sup>-52<sup>a</sup> and 54<sup>b</sup>-55<sup>a</sup>.
- p. 398=71, 105-108<sup>a</sup>, 109-111<sup>a</sup> and 112<sup>a</sup>; 71, 24; 71, 25-27<sup>a</sup>.
- p. 410=59, 22-24. The verse 'apasarpantu te bhūtāḥ' resembles 59, 96 and 89, 18 partially.
- pp. 413-4=61, 11-22.
- p. 428=57, 59-60.
- pp. 430-431=66, 37-43<sup>a</sup> and 44<sup>b</sup>. For the three lines 'śaila-putrī candikā ca' etc. cf. 66, 43<sup>b</sup>-44<sup>a</sup>.
- p. 436=62, 108.
- p. 441=57, 19.

## Kālikā-p.

- pp. 442-3=71, 74<sup>b</sup>-76<sup>a</sup> and 90<sup>b</sup>-91<sup>a</sup>.
- p. 444=71, 32-37; 57, 23; 62, 50<sup>a</sup>.
- pp. 445=57, 59-60.
- pp. 448-9=61, 89<sup>b</sup>-90<sup>a</sup> and 92<sup>a</sup>; 63, 11-12<sup>a</sup>; (the verse 'vidhihṇam kriyāhṇam' is not found); 63, 25<sup>b</sup> and 26<sup>b</sup>-28 (the verse 'yonimudrām pradarsyātha' is not found); 63, 20<sup>a</sup> and 21-22<sup>a</sup>; 63, 29-30<sup>a</sup>.
- p. 502=61, 25-26, 27<sup>b</sup>, 30<sup>a</sup> and 28<sup>a</sup>.
- p. 522=86, 35<sup>b</sup> and 36; 84, 37<sup>b</sup>-38<sup>a</sup>.
- pp. 552-3=83, 52<sup>b</sup>-61, 62<sup>b</sup> and 63.
- p. 555=83, 52<sup>b</sup>-54.
8. *Smṛti-tattva*  
of Raghunandana,  
Vol. I,  
p. 41=83, 52<sup>b</sup>-55, 58<sup>b</sup> and 62<sup>b</sup>-63.  
p. 59=86, 35<sup>b</sup>, 36, 35<sup>c</sup>, 37<sup>a</sup> and 33<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 65=63, 12<sup>b</sup>-13; 63, 11-12<sup>a</sup>; 71, 40<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 73—Refers to 62, 16-17 and 7<sup>b</sup>-9.  
p. 73=69, 1, 8<sup>a</sup>, 16<sup>a</sup> and 45<sup>a</sup>; 62, 113-114.  
p. 74=62, 17, 25<sup>a</sup> and 42<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 75=62, 7<sup>b</sup>-10<sup>a</sup>; 63, 21.  
pp. 77-78=91, 7<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup>, 10-11 and 13-16.  
p. 78=60, 31-32<sup>a</sup>; 72, 55<sup>b</sup>-56; 57, 101.  
p. 79=74, 22 and 15-17<sup>a</sup>.

*Kālikā-p.*

- p. 80=71, 56<sup>b</sup>-57, 58 and 54<sup>b</sup>-55<sup>a</sup>.  
 pp. 80-81=57, 6<sup>b</sup>-14. The 'yajñārthe paśavaḥ sṛṣṭāḥ' and the line 'tato devīm samuddiśya' tally respectively with 71, 39 and 40<sup>a</sup> also.  
 p. 81=57, 15-18 and 20<sup>a</sup> (eight lines from 'ity aṣṭau tava nāmāni' are not found); 57, 20<sup>b</sup>-21; 71, 91<sup>b</sup>-92<sup>a</sup>; 57, 22<sup>a</sup>; 71, 40<sup>b</sup>-41<sup>a</sup>.  
 p. 82=71, 20<sup>a</sup> and 21<sup>a</sup>; 67, 89<sup>b</sup>-90<sup>a</sup>; 57, 19; 71, 22.  
 p. 84=71, 172<sup>b</sup>-174<sup>a</sup>; 71, 96<sup>a</sup>, 97<sup>b</sup>-98, 99<sup>b</sup>, 23-24<sup>a</sup> and 26<sup>b</sup>-27<sup>a</sup>; 71, 50<sup>b</sup>-52<sup>a</sup>.  
 p. 86=63, 14<sup>b</sup>-15<sup>a</sup>. The verse 'aṣṭami-navami-saṁdhau' is not found.  
 p. 87=73, 100-102<sup>a</sup>.  
 p. 88=63, 16<sup>b</sup>-17<sup>a</sup>; 69, 61<sup>b</sup> and 62<sup>b</sup>.  
 p. 92=62, 22-23.  
 p. 93=73, 80<sup>b</sup>-81; 69, 35.  
 p. 94=54, 26.  
 p. 102=61, 80-81.  
 pp. 115-7=90, 1, 10-11<sup>a</sup>, 12-17<sup>a</sup>, 18-26, 27<sup>b</sup>, 28<sup>b</sup>-31, 32<sup>b</sup>-33<sup>a</sup>, 34<sup>b</sup>-35<sup>a</sup>, 36-37, 38<sup>b</sup>-40, 42<sup>b</sup>-44, 46<sup>b</sup>-47<sup>a</sup>, 48<sup>b</sup>-49<sup>a</sup>, 50, 51<sup>b</sup>, 52<sup>b</sup>-54, 55<sup>b</sup> and 56<sup>b</sup>.  
 p. 344=57, 98, 91<sup>b</sup>-c and 93-94  
 p. 345=63, 110.  
 p. 396=72, 32<sup>b</sup>-33<sup>a</sup>.  
 p. 407=72, 2<sup>a</sup>; 72, 37<sup>b</sup>-38<sup>a</sup> and 39<sup>b</sup>-40<sup>a</sup>; 69, 15<sup>b</sup> (or 66, 75<sup>b</sup>; or 59, 62<sup>b</sup>-63<sup>a</sup>). 69, 18; 72,

*Kālikā-p.*

- 41<sup>b</sup>, 44<sup>b</sup>-45<sup>a</sup>, 43<sup>b</sup>-44<sup>a</sup> and 53<sup>b</sup>-54<sup>a</sup>.  
 p. 408=72, 59<sup>a</sup> and 64<sup>b</sup>; 71, 109<sup>b</sup>-111<sup>a</sup>; 72, 3-4<sup>a</sup>.  
 pp. 409-410=73, 9<sup>b</sup>-10<sup>a</sup>, 1<sup>b</sup>-3<sup>a</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>, 6<sup>b</sup>, 25<sup>b</sup>-26<sup>a</sup> and 32<sup>b</sup>-33<sup>a</sup>.  
 p. 410=73, 50, 42 and 39<sup>b</sup>.  
 p. 413=73, 148-9.  
 p. 414=73, 118<sup>b</sup>-120<sup>a</sup>, 114<sup>b</sup>-115<sup>a</sup> and 129<sup>b</sup>.  
 p. 416=59, 166 and 171<sup>b</sup>-172. The line 'yo yaddevārcana-rataḥ' is not found.  
 p. 417=60, 5. The line 'pūjayed gandhapuṣpādyaiḥ' is not found.  
 p. 499=54, 26.  
 p. 863=57, 51<sup>b</sup>-52<sup>a</sup>.  
 p. 888=72, 37<sup>b</sup>-38<sup>a</sup>.  
 pp. 863-4=59, 140.  
 Vol. II,  
 p. 60=72, 59<sup>a</sup> and 64<sup>b</sup>.  
 p. 65=72, 59<sup>a</sup> and 64<sup>b</sup>; 71, 109<sup>b</sup>-111<sup>a</sup> (three lines from 'dipaṁ ca tathā' are not found).  
 p. 71=73, 148-149, 114<sup>b</sup>-115<sup>a</sup>, 128 and 129<sup>b</sup>.  
 p. 72=59, 140-141<sup>a</sup>. The verse 'uttānena tu hastena' is not found.  
 p. 114=91, 35<sup>a</sup>, 39-40 and 41.  
 p. 320=74, 45; 57, 97.  
 p. 354=59, 140-141<sup>a</sup>.  
 p. 466=83, 52<sup>b</sup>-54.  
 pp. 467-8=57, 8<sup>b</sup>-11<sup>a</sup>, 15-16, 13<sup>b</sup> and 17. Eight lines from 'ity aṣṭau tava nāmāni' and the verses 'jaya tvam

*Kālikā-p.*

- sarva-bhūteṣu' and 'yam yam sprśāmi pādena' are not found.
- p. 504=91, 7<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup> and 10-11.
- p. 507=91, 7<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup> and 13-16.
- p. 511=72, 59<sup>a</sup> and 64<sup>b</sup>.
- p. 538=57, 51<sup>b</sup>-52<sup>a</sup>.
- p. 582=54, 26. The verse 'catur-vimśatyāṅgulādhyam' is not found.
9. *Durgāpūjā-tattva*  
of Raghunandana,  
p. 2=63, 12<sup>b</sup>-13 and 11-12<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 5=69, 1 and 8<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 6=61, 80-81.  
p. 7=62, 7<sup>b</sup>-10<sup>a</sup>; 63, 21-22<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 10=62, 7<sup>b</sup>-c.  
pp. 10-11=97, 7<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup>, 10-11 and 13-16.  
p. 12=63, 14<sup>b</sup>-17<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 13=69, 32<sup>b</sup>-33 and 35.  
pp. 14-16=72, 2<sup>a</sup> and 37<sup>b</sup>-38<sup>a</sup>;  
72, 39<sup>b</sup>-40<sup>a</sup>; 69, 15<sup>b</sup>; 69, 18;  
72, 41<sup>b</sup>, 44<sup>b</sup>-45<sup>a</sup>, 43<sup>b</sup>-44<sup>a</sup> and  
53<sup>b</sup>-54<sup>a</sup>; 71, 109<sup>b</sup>-111<sup>a</sup>; 72,  
3-4<sup>a</sup> and 5<sup>b</sup>-6<sup>a</sup>; 73, 148.  
pp. 17-19=73, 9<sup>b</sup>, 1<sup>b</sup>-3<sup>a</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>, 6<sup>b</sup>, 17,  
19<sup>b</sup>, 23<sup>b</sup>-28<sup>a</sup>, 32<sup>b</sup>-33<sup>a</sup>, 28<sup>b</sup>-  
29<sup>a</sup> and 35<sup>b</sup>-36<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 20=73, 37<sup>b</sup>-38.  
p. 21=73, 70.  
p. 22=73, 149.  
p. 23=73, 118<sup>b</sup>-120, 114<sup>b</sup>-115<sup>a</sup>  
and 129<sup>b</sup>.  
pp. 23-24=74, 3<sup>b</sup>, 2<sup>a</sup>, 15-17<sup>a</sup>, 11<sup>b</sup>-  
12<sup>a</sup>, 5<sup>a</sup>, 7<sup>b</sup>, 5<sup>b</sup>-7 and 13<sup>b</sup>-14<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 24=62, 52<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 25=69, 22<sup>b</sup> and 42.  
p. 30=62, 108 and 52<sup>b</sup>-53; 69, 27.  
p. 31=63, 14<sup>b</sup>-15<sup>a</sup>; 71, 22.  
p. 32=71, 96<sup>a</sup>, 97<sup>b</sup>-98 and 99<sup>b</sup>;  
71, 23-24<sup>a</sup>; 60, 17.

*Kālikā-p.*

- pp. 32-35=71, 56<sup>b</sup>-57, 58 and  
54<sup>b</sup>-55<sup>a</sup>; 57, 6<sup>b</sup>-14 and 15-  
17 (eight lines from 'ity  
aṣtau tava nāmāni' are not  
found); 57, 18 and 20-21;  
71, 90<sup>b</sup>-91<sup>a</sup>; 57, 22<sup>a</sup>.
- p. 38=62, 23.
- p. 39=54, 26.
10. *Tantra-sāra* of Kṛṣṇā-  
nanda Āgamavāgīśa,  
I, p. 34=57, 46<sup>b</sup>-48<sup>a</sup>.  
I, p. 38=57, 50<sup>b</sup>-51<sup>a</sup>. Four lines  
from 'evaṃ nirmāya mālāṃ  
vai' are not found.  
II, pp. 202-3=71, 105<sup>b</sup>-106<sup>a</sup> and  
159<sup>b</sup>-160<sup>a</sup>.  
11. *Kāla-sāra* of  
Gadādhara,  
p. 108=69, 61<sup>b</sup> and 62<sup>b</sup>. Three  
lines 'atrāṣṭamyām bhadrā-  
kāli' etc. are not found.  
12. *Viramitrodaya*  
of Mitra Miśra,  
Āhnika-prakāśa,  
p. 326=57, 42<sup>b</sup>-55<sup>a</sup> (except a few  
lines).  
p. 327=57, 34<sup>b</sup>-42<sup>a</sup> and 56.  
p. 382=59, 185-186<sup>a</sup>; 60, 31<sup>a</sup>.  
*Rājanīti-prakāśa*,  
p. 35=91, 35-37<sup>a</sup>.  
p. 39=91, 34.  
*Saṃskāra-prakāśa*,  
pp. 212-3=92, 4-5<sup>a</sup>, 6-7<sup>a</sup>, 8<sup>b</sup>-11<sup>a</sup>  
and 15<sup>b</sup>-16<sup>a</sup>. The subject  
matter of the four lines from  
'tataḥ kadācid urvaśyām'  
is found in an elaborate  
form in 92, 17f.  
p. 225=91, 38-43.  
13. *Vidhāna-pārijāta*, of  
Anantabhaṭṭa,  
Vol. I, pp. 425-6=91, 39-41<sup>a</sup>.

## APPENDIX II

### (A)

Not a single of the numerous quotations made from the '*Kālikā-purāṇa*' (or '*Kālikā-p.*') in Nānyadeva's *Bharata-bhāṣya*, Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Ballālasena's *Dānasāgara*, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Mādhavācārya's *Parāśara-bhāṣya* and *Kālanirnaya*, Madanapāla's *Madana-pūrijāta*, Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, Śrīdatta Upādhyāya's *Kṛtyācāra* and *Ācārūdarśa*, and Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's *Nityācāra-pradīpa* is found in the present *Kālikā-p.*

### (B)

The following quotations made from the '*Kālikā-p.*' are not found in the present *Kālikā* :

(i) *Durgotsava-viveka*, pp. 17-18. (In his *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 90 and *Durgāpūjā-tattva*, p. 43 Raghunandana ascribes these lines to the *Devī-p.*, but in the extant *Devī-p.* these lines are not found)

(ii) *Prūyaścitta-viveka*, pp. 66, 72-73, 428, 486 (this line was derived from the earlier *Kālikā-p.*—cf. Aparārka's commentary, p. 924).

(iii) *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, fol. 82<sup>b</sup>.

(iv) *Dānakriyā-kaumudī*, pp. 11, 76, 77.

(v) *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī*, pp. 391, 552, 570.

(vi) *Smṛti-tattva* I, pp. 36 (these two lines belonged most probably to the earlier *Kālikā-p.*—cf. *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, pp. 684-5), 132 (this line belonged to the earlier *Kālikā-p.*—cf. Aparārka's com., p. 924) 133, 353, 398 (this verse belonged to the earlier *Kālikā-p.*—cf. *Kṛtyācāra*, fol. 60<sup>a</sup>), 494; II, pp. 84, 100, 574, 588, 597.

(vii) *Durgāpūjā-tattva*, pp. 8-9 (these lines belonged to a 'duṣprāpa-kālikā-purāṇāntara'), 36 (these three lines occur among the verses quoted from a 'duṣprāpa-kālikā-purāṇāntara').

(viii) *Vīramitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 44 (these lines which are quoted in the Brahmacāri-kāṇḍa of Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, must have belonged to the earlier *Kālikā-p.*);

*Pūjā-prakāśa*, pp. 226-232 (this citation, which is also quoted in the *Pūjā-kāṇḍa* of Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, must have belonged to the earlier *Kālikā-p.*) 234, 238, (these lines belonged to the earlier *Kālikā-p.*—cf. *Kṛtyācāra*, fol. 60<sup>a</sup>), 308-9 (these lines belonged to the earlier *Kālikā-p.*—cf. *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, pp. 684-5);

*Rājanīti-prakāśa*, p. 30.

(ix) *Haribhaktivilāsa*, pp. 377, 382, 388, 757, 801 (this verse belonged to the earlier *Kālikā-p.*—cf. *Kālanirnaya*, p. 254); 841.



# THE ROLE OF THE COURTEZAN IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIAN PAINTING

BY

P. K. GODSE, M.A.

The *Mānasollāsa*<sup>1</sup> of the Western Cālukya King Someśvara<sup>2</sup> is a veritable encyclopaedia of Indian Culture and affords useful materials pertaining to different arts and sciences as known about A. D. 1100. It contains accordingly some material regarding painters and painting and the technique of the painter's art etc. It describes the painters in the following verses :

“ प्रगल्भैर्भावकैस्तज्ञैः सूक्ष्मरेखाविशारदैः ।

विधिनिर्माणकुशलैः पत्रलेखनकोविदैः ॥ १३० ॥

वर्णपूरणदक्षैश्च वीरणे च कृतश्रमः ।

चित्रकैर्लेखयेच्चित्रं नानारससमुद्भवम् ॥ १३१ ॥”

The above verses refer to male painters only, who were of the professional type and who were employed for decorating the walls of the king's palace.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere<sup>5</sup> in the elucidation of *Citravidyā* Someśvara deals with the characteristics and types of pictures as follows :—

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<sup>1</sup> G. O. Series, Baroda, No. L XXXIV, Vol. II, 1939, Ed. by G. K. Shri-gondeker.

<sup>2</sup> Someśvara or Bhūloka-malla ruled from A. D. 1116 to 1127. He devoted his entire attention to song and dance. He has devoted 2500 verses to music. ( Vide pp. 853-854 of *Classical Sanskrit Literature* by Krishnama-chariar, Madras. 1937 ). He has devoted about 775 verses to the description of the चित्रविद्या ( pp. 13 to 79 and verses 130 to 905 at Vol. II of *Mānasollāsa* )

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 79—

“ चित्रं लक्षणसंयुक्तं लेखयित्वा महीपतिः ।

प्रासादे रुचिरे तुङ्गे सौवर्णकलशान्विते ॥ ९०६ ॥

Percy Brown ( p. 19 of *Indian Painting*, Heritage of India Series ) observes :—“ In Sanskrit and other literatures there are references to the secular aspect of the art, with the further information that it was in wall-painting that these ancient artists largely excelled.”

<sup>5</sup> *Mānasollāsa*, II, pp. 78-79.

“ असङ्ख्यातानि सत्त्वानि<sup>1</sup> शक्यते नैव भाषितुम् ॥ ८१९ ॥  
 तत्तद्रूपानुसारेण लेखनीयानि कोविदैः ।  
 सादृशं लिख्यते यत्तु दर्पणे प्रतिबिम्बवत्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ९०० ॥  
 तच्चित्रं विद्वमित्याहुर्विश्वकर्मादयो बुधाः ।  
 आकस्मिकं लिखामीति यदनुद्दिश्य लिख्यते ॥ ९०१ ॥  
 आभारमात्रसंपन्ने तद्विद्वमिति स्मृतम् ।  
 शृङ्गारादिरसोयत्र दर्शनादेव गम्यते ॥ ९०२ ॥  
 भावचित्रं तदाख्यातं चित्तकौतुककारकम् ।  
 सदुच्यैर्वर्णकैर्लेख्यं धूलिचित्रं विदुर्बुधाः ॥ ९०३ ॥  
 सुप्रमाणं तथा विद्वमविद्धं भावचित्रकम् ।  
 रसधूलिगतं प्रोक्तं मानसोल्लासपुस्तके ॥ ९०४ ॥  
 निर्मितं चित्रलक्ष्मेदं चित्रतोदनहारकम् ।  
 भूलोकमल्लदेवेन चित्राविद्याविरञ्चिता ॥ ९०५ ॥

From Someśvara's treatment of the *Citravidyā* we do not gather any data which might enable us to visualize the Indian painter whose personality remains therefore intangible and vague inspite of references to painters and painting in Sanskrit literature.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the previous verses directions for the painting of *horses* (हयचित्र) verses 836-873-and *elephants* (गजचित्र) verses 874-898-are laid down by Someśvara.

<sup>2</sup> This reminds me of the art maxim “*Hold the mirror up to Nature.*” Compare the following remarks on Ajanta paintings by Griffith quoted by Vincent Smith (p. 106 of *History of Fine art in India and Ceylon* Oxford, 1930) “Here we have art with life in it, human faces full of expression, limbs drawn with grace and action, flowers which bloom, birds which soar, and beasts that spring, or fight, or patiently carry burdens; all are taken from Nature's book growing after her pattern etc.”

Reference to the picture of the heroine drawn by the hero is found in the drama *Nāgānanda* of Sriharṣa ( 7th century A. D. ) in Act II :—

“ प्रिया संनिहितैवेयं संकल्पैः स्थापिता पुरः ।  
 दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वा लिखाम्येनां यदि तत्कोऽत्र विस्मयः ॥ ”

This is a reference to a picture drawn by imagination.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide Indian Painting* by Brown, p. 8— ‘The painter whether Buddhist, Rajput or Mogul walks through the pages of history a vague, indefinite, elusive being. Only his pictures remain to prove that he was a virile character, absorbed in his work. In these productions a certain personality is discernible but of an abstract nature difficult to focuss as an actual individual in relation to his art.’

In view of the paucity of data<sup>1</sup> about the personality of the Indian painter we must make an effort to gather data which might enable us to paint his personality in words, if not in colours and the present paper is one such attempt dealing with the role of the *gaṇikā* or the courtesan in the early history<sup>2</sup> of Indian painting.

Dāmodaragupta, the minister of the Kashmir king Jayāpīḍa<sup>3</sup> in his remarks on the character of courtezans states<sup>4</sup> that they

<sup>1</sup> Bāṇa ( A. D. 600 ) has given us a list of his companions which includes a painter ( चित्रकृत् ) of the name वीरवर्मा and men and women of varied professions ( like ताम्बूलदायक, पुस्तकवाचक, मार्दङ्गिक, गान्धर्वोपाध्याय, संवाहिका, आक्षिक, नर्तकी धातुवादविद्, मन्त्रसाधक, भाषाकवि, क्षपणक, etc.) Vide p. III of P. V. Kane's Intro. to *Harṣacarita*, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> Vide p. 426 of *Early History of India* by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1914. The large fresco painting in cave No. 1 at Ajantā which represents the Persian embassy to Pulakeśin II in A. D. 625-6 is of the highest value as a landmark in the history of art. It establishes a standard by which the dates of other paintings at Ajantā can be judged. It also "suggests the possibility that the Ajantā School of pictorial art may have been derived directly from Persia and ultimately from Greece" ( Vide p. 388 of *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* ). Though the Cālukya power which originated with Pulakeśin I at Vātāpī ( Badāmi ) about 550 A. D. was on the decline during the reign of Cālukya Bhūlokaamalla Someśvara of Kalyāṇa ( A. D. 1125-26 ) it is possible to suggest that the *Citravidyā* or the art of painting to which Someśvara devotes 775 verses in his *Mānasollāsa* was a product of the Cālukya art tradition which produced the Ajantā frescos of the time of Cālukya Pulakeśin II ( 7th Century ).

Though all human pictures require materials of painting and good painters, the master artist of this Universe requires none in his production of the cosmos as stated in the *Rasagaṅgādhara* by Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāya—

“ निरुपादानसंभारमभित्तावेव तन्वते । जगच्चित्रं नमस्तस्मै कलाश्लाघ्याय श्रुतिने ॥...चित्रस्य च केवलस्योपादानानां मणीहरितालादिनामधारस्य भित्तिदिश्रामवे केवलाकाशे जागत्येवोत्पत्तिसंभवः  
etc.”

<sup>3</sup> Vide p. 372 of Smith's *Early History* etc. he was the grandson of Muktaṇḍa ( A. D. 740 ).

<sup>4</sup> Vide p. 59 of *Kuṭṭanīmata* ( Kāvyaṃālā, 1887 ).

“ यासां जघनावरणं परकौतुकवृद्धये न तु तृपया ।

उज्ज्वलवेषारचना कामिजनारुह्ये न तु स्थितये ॥ ३०५ ॥

मांसरसाभ्यवहारः पुरुषाहन्तिपीडया न तु स्पृहया ।

आलेख्यादौ व्यसनं वैदग्ध्यख्यातये न तु विनोदाय ॥ ३०६ ॥

( continued on the next page )

practise the art of painting (*ālekhyā*) for advertisement only and not for diversion (*vinoda*), i. e. as a pursuit or occupation. If this statement is correct it indicates that about A. D. 750 the art of painting was practised by courtezans as a means for making their trade more attractive to people. It is, however, certain that at this time painting was practised by the courtezans, a fact which contrasts with the modern accomplishments of the courtezans which include only singing and dancing (*Samgīta* and *Nṛtya*). It is, therefore, necessary to examine if there is evidence to assume that painting was practised by the courtezans before the 8th century of the Christian Era and for this purpose I shall record in this paper some references which go to prove that painting was associated with the daily life of the Courtezans in the early history of Indian painting.

In the literary evidence referred to by Vincent Smith<sup>1</sup> regarding the history of pictorial art in India no reference is found

(continued from the previous page)

*Amarakośa* (III, 3, 178) refers to आलेख्य ( “ आलेख्याश्चर्ययोः चित्रम् ” ).

In a purāṇic Kāvya of 7th century called *Varāṅgacarita* ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye ( 1938 ) p. 218 we find reference to wall-paintings of a चैत्यगृह—

Chapter XXII—

“ द्वारोपविष्टा कमलालया श्रीः उपान्तयोः किन्नरभूतयक्षाः ।

तीर्थकराणां हलिचक्रिणां च भित्त्यन्तरेष्वालिखितं पुराणम् ॥ ६१ ॥

Then on p. 177 ( Chap. XIX— मनोरमामतिविधम् ) a पुंस्त्री well-versed in चित्रकला is mentioned—

“ कश्चिद्भट्टं चित्रकलाविदग्धा लिलेख पुंस्त्रीनृपतेः शिलायाम् ।

अवेक्ष्य चित्रस्थमतीव विद्वं तद्वलभत्वं च विचिन्तयन्त्याः ॥ ४४ ॥

... ..  
अन्यार्थसंघीडनवेपिताङ्गी हस्तद्वयेन प्रममर्ज चित्रम् ।

सखी च तद्वेक्ष्य जगाद वाक्यं चित्रं किमेतद्वद मे निशङ्का ॥ ४७ ॥”

The *Naiṣadhakāvya* VI, 64 refers to the female companion of the heroine as expert in painting “ लिपीषु अतिविख्यातभृता.” Mallinātha explains लिपीषु as चित्रकर्मसु.

<sup>1</sup> Vide pp. 92-93 of *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1930. Some points from Smith's evidence may be noted here:—

( 1 ) There are references to pictorial art in Pali Buddhist Canon ( B. C. 3rd or 4th Century )—Pleasure-house of kings painted with figures etc.

( 2 ) *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to painted halls.

( 3 ) Allusions to portraits in the dramas of Kālidāsa and his successors.

( continued on the next page )

to women painters. He only tries to prove "the early and continuous practice" of the painter's art in both India and Ceylon but says nothing about the personality of the Indian painter, much less of the woman painter.

In the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana which according to Dr. A. B. Keith<sup>2</sup> was composed about 500 A. D. or according to Bhandarkar c. A. D. 100, mention is made of the 64 arts (*Kalās*) which are contributory or ancillary to the *Kāmasūtra*. These arts include *ālekhyā* or painting.<sup>3</sup> A prostitute (*veśyā*) well versed in these 64 arts is said to be respected in society<sup>4</sup> as also at the royal court.<sup>5</sup> Vātsyāyana prescribes the art of painting also for the *nāgaraka* (the elegant). We find accordingly *citrāphātaka* and

(continued from the previous page)

(4) The Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* (circa 5th century A. D.) refers to mural paintings on a relic chamber constructed about 150 B. C.

(5) Chinese pilgrims (5th, 6th and 7th Centuries) notice several examples of Buddhist pictures.

(6) Tārānāth, the Tibetan historian of the beginning of the 17th century ascribes the most ancient pictures to gods.

<sup>1</sup> Bāṇa c. 600 A. D. in his *Kādambarī* (P. V. Kane, 1920) refers to the purāṇic story of pictures drawn by चित्रलेखा, the friend of उषा who was in love with अनिरुद्ध:— P. 61— "चित्रलेखादर्शितविचित्रसकलत्रिभुवनाकारम्" (Vide विष्णुपुराण (V, 32, 20)).

P. 60— "चन्द्रापीडः...चित्रकर्मणिः...कलाविशेषेषु परं कोशलमवाप"

P. 69— "चित्रफलके भूमिपालप्रतिविम्बमावधत्ता"

<sup>2</sup> Vide p. 469 of *Sanskrit Literature*, 1928.

<sup>3</sup> Vide p. 32 of *Kāmasūtra* (Ed. by Pt. Kedarnāth N. S. Press, Bombay 1900)—

"गीतं, वाद्यं, नृत्यं, आलेख्यं"

.....इति चतुःषष्टिरङ्गविधाः कामसूत्रस्यावयवविन्यः ॥

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 41-2—

"आभिरेभ्युच्छिता वेद्या शीलरूपगुणान्विता ।

लभते गणिकाशब्दं स्थानं च जनसंसदि ॥

पूजिता च सदा राज्ञा गुणवद्विश्च संस्तुता ।

प्रार्थनीयभिगम्या च लक्ष्यभूता च जायते ॥

The commentator Yaśodhara explains:—

"कलायहणे फलमाह आभिरिति । कलाभिरेभ्युच्छिता जातोत्कर्षा" etc.

<sup>5</sup> The Greek *hetærae* or prostitutes were "the most gifted and brilliant members of their class known to history" and "wielded great and open influence" (vide p. 597, of *Encycl. Brit.* vol. XVIII-14th Edn.)

*varṭikāsamudgaka* mentioned as the accessories of his drawing room.<sup>1</sup>

The accomplishments of the courtesan as prescribed by the *Kāmasūtra* may be favourably compared with those of the courtesans at the Vijayanagara court of the 16th century. In the account<sup>2</sup> of these courtesans given by Prof. Venkataramanayya no reference to the art of painting as pursued by these courtesans could be noticed, though pictures representing love stories from the *purāṇas* were painted on the walls of their rooms.<sup>3</sup> A courtesan was required to be very accomplished<sup>4</sup> in several fields to capture men of wealth and distinction as stated by a contemporary author; but in these accomplishments I find no reference to the art of painting.

In the *Daśakumāracarita* ascribed to Daṇḍin who belongs to the 6th Century A. D. according to Prof. P. V. Kane<sup>5</sup> we find the

<sup>1</sup> *Kāmasūtra*, p. 45-- "वाद्ये च वासगृहे . . चित्रफलकम् । वार्तिकासमुद्रकः । etc. " Yaśodhara explains चित्रफलकमालेख्यार्थम् । वार्तिकासमुद्रकः चित्रकर्मोपयोगी "

<sup>2</sup> Vide pp. 401-406 of *Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara* (A.D. 1530-1543), Madras, 1935.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 402--The courtesans were regarded as a respectable community--Women of any community joined the courtesan class--They were taught (1) Reading and writing (2) Sanskrit and Vernacular literatures (3) Singing (4) Dancing. The education imparted to them was such as developed in them a Sex instinct at a very early age.

Vide also the remarks on Vijayanagar Courtesans in Dr. B. A. Saletore's *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire*, Vol. II (1934) pp. 165-172. In these detailed remarks also I have failed to notice any reference to the pursuit of the art of painting by the Vijayanagar courtesans though their proficiency in other arts is vouched for by contemporary evidence.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 403--"According to a contemporary author (Kandukūri Rudra Kavi in his *Niraṅkuṣopākhyāna* 240) the most successful courtesan had to employ several arts in keeping her lover firmly moored. If he were a scholar, she discoursed with him upon the beauty of the classics; if he had no taste for learning, she sang melodiously; on occasions when song did not please him she entertained him by playing upon the *viṇā*; when that did not arouse his interest she played dice with him; and when dice ceased to have attraction, she engaged him in witty conversation; for she was a learned scholar, a clever gambler and a brilliant conversationalist"--"Prostitution was regarded as the lawful profession of the community and no blame was attached to it so far as the members of the caste were concerned. On the contrary they were highly respected" (p. 405).

<sup>5</sup> Vide Introduction to *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 1923, p. XLI.

art of painting<sup>1</sup> associated with the courtezans in the manner prescribed by the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana.

In the drama *Mṛcchakaṭika* we find a description of a *ganikā-grha* or the house of a courtesan which is styled as नन्दनवन and in which *ganikās* are described as moving about with picture-boards in their hands. These picture-boards ( *citrāphalakas* ) are described as besmeared with varied colours.<sup>2</sup> This description clearly proves the association of the art of painting with *ganikās* at the time<sup>3</sup> of the composition of the drama. The question now

<sup>1</sup> Vide p. 39 of *Daśakumāra Caritam*, Bombay, 1883.

*Ucchvāsa II*—

“एष हि गणिकामातुः अधिकारः यद्...अध्यापनमनङ्गविद्यानां साङ्गानां, नृत्य-  
गतिवायनाख्यचित्रस्वायगन्धपुष्पकलासु लिपिज्ञानवचनकौशलादिषु च सम्यग्भिनयनम्  
etc. *Ucchvāsa III*—p. 88.—चित्रपटम्; p. 89—आलेख्यरूपम्. *Ucchvāsa V*—  
(p. 117) “अहं च गत्वा.....युवतीमद्राक्षम् । सा त्वागत्य स्वहस्तवर्तिनि चित्रपटे  
लिखितं मत्सदृशं कमपि पुरुषं मां च पर्यायेण निर्धर्णयन्ती सविस्मयं सवितर्कं सहर्षं च क्षण-  
मवातिष्ठत् । मयापि तत्र चित्रपटे मत्सादृश्यं पश्यता etc.” चित्रपटे च...ममेवेयं  
प्रतिकृतिः,” “भद्रे देहि मे चित्रपटम्”

See the graphic description of the preparations of a marriage in a royal family given by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* ( *Ucchvāsa IV* ) where we find women, clever in painting and drawing figures decorating polished jars and groups of raw clay ware :—

“चित्रयन्तीभिः चित्रपत्रलालेख्यकुशलाभिः कलशांश्च धवलितानुर्शातलशालाजिर-  
श्रेणींश्च मण्डयन्तीभिः” ( Vide p. 70 of Kane's Edn. 1918—*Harṣacarita I-IV* )  
शालाजिर=शराव

<sup>2</sup> Vide page 102 of *Mṛcchakaṭika* ed. by H. M. Sarma, N. S. Press, Bombay 1910—Act—IV—

“इमे चापरे मदनसंधिविग्रहचतुराः विविधवर्णिकावलिसचित्रफलकाग्रहस्ताः  
इतस्ततः परिभ्रमन्ति गणिकाः वृद्धविटाश्च” “The expression “मदनसंधिविग्रहाः”  
explained as “skilled in bringing about peace or discord in love affairs”

<sup>3</sup> Dr. V. G. Paranjpe in his Intro. to his edition of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (1937, Poona) (p. xvii) states that this drama is a “work of the 2nd or 3rd Century A. D.” The following views of scholars have been referred to by H. M. Sarma on pp. IV to VI of his Intro. to his edition of 1910:—

(1) *Weber*—“2nd Century B. C.

(2) *Wilson*—“of respectable antiquity.”

(3) *Monier Williams*—“1st Century A. D.”

(4) *Lassen*—“150 A. D.”

( continued on the next page )

arises: When and why the art of painting ceased to be associated with the accomplishments of the courtesan, if its existence during the early centuries of the Christian era was a necessary concomitance of the life of the courtesan? This question must be left to the experts in the ancient and mediaeval history of Indian Culture. Let us now proceed to the other references to *ālekhyā* or painting associated with the class of women designated as *nāyikās* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* <sup>1</sup> of Bharata and specified as (1) दिव्या, (2) नृपपत्नी, (3) कुलस्त्री and (4) गणिका. Speaking of the गणिका class of heroines Bharata prescribes अलेख्य <sup>2</sup> and other arts for them as well as for the other three types of *nāyikās* mentioned

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Krishnamachariar ( *Classi. Sans. Lit.* 1937 ) p. 575 fn. 2 records the varied views of scholars re. the date of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*:—( 5 ) Fergusson—31 B.C. ( 6 ) Wilford—1st and 3rd Cent. B. C., ( 7 ) Princep—21 B. C., ( 8 ) Regnaud—about 250 A. D. ( 9 ) Pischel and Macdonell—6th Century A. D. ( 10 ) K. C. Mehendale—middle of the 6th century A. D. ( 11 ) J. C. Ghatak—c. 3rd century B. C.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. by Pt. Śivadatta ( *Kāvya-mālā*, 42 ) 1894. Page 272.

“ नायिकाश्चैव वक्ष्यामि चतस्रः पुनरेव तु ॥ ६ ॥

दिव्या च नृपपत्नी च कुलस्त्री गणिका तथा ।

The *Daśarūpa* of *Dhananjaya* ( Ed. by C. O. Haas, Newyork, 1912 ) mentions three kinds of Heroine—( 1 ) स्वा or hero's own wife ( 2 ) अन्या or another's wife and ( 3 ) साधारणश्री a common woman. ( Page 48 ). This common woman is defined as “ गणिका कला प्रगल्भ्यधौर्त्ययुक् ” i. e. “ a courtesan skilled in arts, bold and cunning ” ( Page 53 ). Sanskrit is to be spoken by courtezans ( Page 75 ) who are put on a par with the Chief Queen and daughters of ministers. A courtesan is to be called “ mistress ” ( *ajjukā* )—( Page 77 ). In a *Prakarana* the heroine is the highborn wife of the hero or a Courtesan ( page 95 ). The high-born woman ( कुलजा ) should be in doors, the courtesan ( वेश्या ) without.

<sup>2</sup> *Nāṭyaśāstra* ( KM 42 ) Page 274—

“ नाना कलाविशेषज्ञा नानाशिल्पविचक्षणा ।

गन्धशिल्पाविभागज्ञा नानालेख्यविशारदा ॥ २९ ॥ ”

This is a description of the शिल्पकारिका in the स्त्रीविभाग which includes ( 1 ) महादेवी, ( 2 ) देवी, ( 3 ) स्वामिनी, ( 4 ) स्थायिनी, ( 5 ) भोगिनी, ( 6 ) शिल्पकारी, ( 7 ) नाटकी or नाटकीया and ( 8 ) नर्तकी.

Rāmacandra in his *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* ( c. 1160 A. D. ) specifies the servants in attendance at the king's harem :—“ कार्याख्याने प्रतीहारौ...चित्रादौ शिल्पकारिका ” ( Vide p. 200 of G. O. S. Edn., Vol. I, 1929 ).



by him.<sup>1</sup> This reference seems to suggest that *ālekhyā* or the art of painting was a regular part of the accomplishments of high-born ladies as also of the courtezans of the time of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*. In the treatises on dramaturgy the courtesan is not represented as a woman of inferior type but on the contrary a highly polished woman well-versed in different arts and hence fit to be the heroine of a play in the same manner as highborn woman. In fact Kautilya in his *Arthaśāstra* seems to attach great importance to the art-education of prostitutes, which, he enjoins should be carried out at the expense of the state :

“Those who teach prostitutes, female slaves, and actresses arts such as singing, playing on musical instruments, reading, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the instruments like *Vīṇā*, pipe and drum, reading the thoughts of others, manufacture of scents and garlands, shampooing and the art of attracting and captivating the mind of others shall be endowed with maintenance from the state.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Harṣa's sister Rājyaśrī was brought up in the midst of female companions who were quite accomplished in arts such as नृत्य, गीत etc.

( *Harṣacarita*, IV )—

“अथ राज्यश्रीरपि नृत्यगीतासु विदग्धासु सखीषु सकलासु कलासु च प्रातिदिवस-  
मुपचीयमानपरिचया शनैः शनैरवर्धत परिमितैरेव च दिवसेयौविनमारोह ”

In Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* ( Act. IV ) the female companions of the heroine Śakuntalā refer to चित्रकर्मपरिचय or knowledge of painting :—“ चित्रकर्मपरिचयेन अङ्गेषु, त आभरणाविनियोगं कुर्वः In Act VI we are introduced to the picture of Śakuntalā drawn by the king to amuse himself ( अर्घलिखितमेताद्विनोदस्थानम् । तस्माद्गच्छ वर्तिकां तावदानय ” ). In Kālidāsa's drama *Vikramorvaśīya* ( Act II ) reference is made to the picture of the heroine Urvāśī by the Vidūṣaka:—

“अथवा तत्रभवत्याः उर्वश्याः प्रतिकृतिं चित्रफलके अभिलिख्य आलोकयन्  
आत्मानं विनोदय ” These references clearly prove the importance attached in those times to the art of painting.

In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa there are also some references to painting—“ चित्रगर्तं भर्तारं परमार्थेनो गृहीत्वास्मयति ” ( Act IV ). चित्रशाला or studio is also mentioned in Act I :— चित्रशालां गता देवी प्रत्यग्रवर्णरागां चित्रलेखमाचार्यस्याव-  
लोकयन्ती तिष्ठति. ”

<sup>2</sup> Vide p. 139 of *Arthaśāstra* ( Eng. Trans. by Dr. Sham Sastry, 1929 ), Vide p. 36 of *Arthaśāstra* ed. by J. S. Karandikar and B. R. Hivargaonkar, 1927—Chap. 48 on गणिकाध्यक्ष—

( continued on the next page )

Of course Kauṭilya's object in making the art-education of prostitutes a matter of state expense was not philanthropic but a purely political one as he states in the same context that "The wives of actors and others of similar profession, who have been taught various languages and the use of signals, shall along with their relatives be made use of in detecting the wicked and murdering or deluding foreign spies." A state that spends money on the education of the prostitutes does so with a view to make them state-agents. This was perfectly natural in those times and is even now in a limited sense. But whatever may have been the object of the art-education enjoined for the prostitutes by Kauṭilya the fact remains that painting was taught to the prostitutes at the time of the composition of the *Arthaśāstra*, if not some centuries earlier as Kauṭilya records not only contemporary practices but settled practices of previous centuries, which may have been current in his days.

Let us now indicate the relative chronology of the references to the *practice of the art of painting by the courtezans*. This is as follows:—

Chronology	Authority	References
C. 321 B. C. to 296 B. C. (J. F. Fleet)	<i>Arthaśāstra</i> of Kauṭilya	Painting (चित्र) to be taught to the Prostitutes at state expense.
Between B. C. 200 and A. D. 300 (P. V. Kane)	<i>Nāṭyaśāstra</i> of Bharata	The courtesan (nāyikā) should be shown as expert in different kinds of painting (नानालेख्य-विशारदा).
C. 100 A. D. (Bhandarkar) C. 500 A. D. (A. B. Keith)	<i>Kāmasūtra</i> of Vātsyāyana	The courtesan should be proficient in painting and other arts (64 <i>Kalās</i> ) to ensure respect among the people and at the royal court.

( continued from the previous page )

“ गीतवाद्यपाठ्यनृत्तनाट्याक्षरचित्रवीणाविणुमृदङ्गपरचित्सङ्गानगन्धमाल्यसंयूहनसंपादन-  
संवाहनैवैशिककलाज्ञानानि गणिका दासी रङ्गोपजीविनीश्च साहयतो राजमण्डलादाजीवं  
कुर्यात् ”

1 “ *Vaiśiki* ” is referred to in *Mṛcchakatika* I, 4 ).

5 [ *Annals*, B. O. B. I. ]

Chronology	Authority	References
C. 150 A. D. ( Lassen ) 2nd or 3rd cent. A. D. (V.G.Paranjpe)	<i>Mṛcchakatika</i> of Śūdraka	Courtezans shown with picture-boards besmeared with paints in the house of the courtesan Vasantasenā, the heroine of the play.
C. 755 A. D.	<i>Kuttanīmata</i> of Dāmodara- gupta	Courtezans practising painting for advertising only and not for diversion ( वेदगध्यस्यातये न तु विनोदाय ).

The chronology indicated in the above table is of course relative and approximate but it is sufficient to establish the fact that the art of *painting* was a necessary part of the accomplishments of a courtesan, say between about 500 B. C. and 800 A. D., a period which saw the rise of Indian painting as proved by the existing frescoes at Ajantā in the Deccan and at Sigiriya in Ceylon. The amateurish interest in any art though conducive to its growth can hardly take it to perfection but when art is pursued by the professional class from century to century the tradition and the technique developed by this class has a living force in the history of national art because the living of this class depends on the unremitting pursuit of art and consequently its growth is not left to amateurish whims<sup>1</sup> of the aristocrats or

<sup>1</sup> Compare Bernier's remarks on the condition of Indian artisans and painters in the 17th century :—

( P. 255-6 of *Travels*, 1891 )—" Want of genius, therefore, is not the reason why works of superior art are not exhibited in the capital. If the artists and manufacturers were encouraged the useful and fine arts would flourish ; but these unhappy men are condemned treated with harshness and inadequately remunerated for their labour. The rich will have every article at a cheap rate.....How then can it be expected that any spirit of emulation should animate the artist or manufacturers. Instead of contending for a superiority of reputation, his only anxiety is to finish the work and to earn the pittance that shall supply him with a piece of bread. The artists, therefore, who arrive at any eminence in their art are those only who are in the service of the king or of some powerful *Omrah* and who work exclusively for their patron."

the gentry of a nation, who remain at best only the patrons of the professional artists.

Any change in the artistic taste of these patrons of art had its reaction on the growth of the national art. Are we, therefore, entitled to suggest that with the general artistic degradation of the class of society to which the courtezans tried to please during the course of their profession their interest in painting as an accessory to their trade also declined and ultimately dropped out for good? The arts of singing and dancing having a wider and demonstrable appeal to the average man have still survived in association with the courtezans and even in modern times we have greater attendances at dances and singing parties than at art exhibitions which hardly attract any large numbers even from the so called educated class of the day.<sup>1</sup>

The importance and status attached to the profession of the courtezans during the early history of Indian Culture appears to have been lost in the mediaeval period and they were looked upon as social outcasts<sup>2</sup> at least by a section of the society

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<sup>1</sup> Even in the 17th century Bernier noticed and criticized the degradation of artistic taste among the people in India though the professional painters produced good work as is evident from Bernier's remarks:--

"I have often admired the beauty, softness and delicacy of their paintings and miniatures and was particularly struck with the exploits of Akbar, painted on a shield by a celebrated artist who is said to have been seven years in completing the picture. I thought it a wonderful performance. The Indian painters are chiefly deficient in just proportions and in the expression of the face; but these defects would soon be corrected if they possessed good masters and were instructed in the rules of art." (p. 255); The Editor quotes a passage from *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. I, p. 108 which criticizes the "bigoted followers of the letter of the law" who are hostile to the art of painting" and which concludes with Akbar's remarks on painting according to which the painter is forced to think of God in view of his inability "to bestow individuality upon his work."

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Epi. Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 199ff.—In the *Puruṣottamapuri* plates of king Rāmacandra of Devagiri dated Śaka 1232 (= A. D. 1310) certain villages are granted by this Yādava king to his minister *Puruṣottama*, who gave these villages to certain Brahmins, numbering eighty three. Lines 117-20 contain rules for the conduct of the Brahmins. These villages are to be enjoyed by the Brahmins and their descendants following always the righteous path. "No quarter shall be given to prostitutes: the custom of gambling also shall be prohibited."

(continued on next page)

which was more religiously minded, if not by the gay aristocrats who continued their pleasurable pursuits perhaps as of yore.

The evidence recorded by me in the present paper leads me to infer that the art of painting was associated with the courtezans at least for 1000 years say between B. C. 500 and A. D. 500. In the account of pre-Buddhist pictorial art given by Mr. Ratilal Metha in his recent book *Pre-Buddhist India*<sup>1</sup> based mainly on the Jātaka Stories,<sup>2</sup> I find no reference to the association of painting with the courtezans<sup>3</sup> but as they were highly accomplished the art of painting may have been practised by them. Dealing with the education of women in those days Mr.

( continued from the previous page )

“ अथ ब्राह्मणनियमाः ।

आचंद्रार्कमिदं भोज्यमेभिरेषां च वंशजैः ।

नाधेयं न च विक्रेयं सदा सन्मार्गवार्त्ति(भिः) ॥ ३५ ॥

पण्यांगनानां सदनं न देयं यु(द्ध)तप्रचारोपि निवारणायिः ।

शस्त्रादिकं वापि न धारणीयं सत्कर्मनिष्ठैर्भवितव्यमेषैः ॥ ३६ ॥

Perhaps to stimulate सत्कर्मनिष्ठ which may have been on the decline about 1300 A. D. the above rules were strictly enjoined in the inscription by the Yādava King at least for the Brahman beneficiaries of the grant.

<sup>1</sup> Bombay, 1939, pp. 315-316. Some points from Mr. Mehta's remarks may be noted here:—

(1) The Pictorial art seems to have been highly developed. It was called *Cittakamma* (= *Citrakarma*).

(2) Paintings were drawn on the walls ( *bhitti* ) as well as on panels or boards ( *phalaka* ).

(3) Balls with various designs painted on them are also mentioned ( *Cittabhenduka* ).

(4) Walls were carefully plastered and coated with lime and nicely polished ( *Sudhānulepanam* ) before paintings were painted on them.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. xxiii—Dealing with the age of the *Jātakas* Mr. Mehta states that “the prose stories of the *Jātaka-Atthakathā* (were) compiled about the latter part of the 5th century A. D.” but the verses in the *Jātakas* may be dated “from pre-Buddhist times down to the 5th century A. D.” In view of the several stages through which the *Jātaka* stories have passed, as admitted by Mr. Mehta, I am unable to make any definite chronological inference from them.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid pp. 294-297—Mr. Mehta deals with the position of the courtezans here. Three courtezans of Benares viz. (1) *Sāmā*, (2) *Sulasā* and (3) *Kālī* are mentioned—A courtezana was not looked down upon as moral out-cast but rose to a high standard through her accomplishments and was respected by the people.

Mehta observes<sup>1</sup> that they knew *writing* and *reading* but "stray examples do not at all justify our inference that the girl's education was even fairly attended to." "Universities like Takkasila are only for boys: Girls have no entrance there. And even at home the girl hardly gets any education." Speaking of the art-education of girls Mr. Mehta states that "it is very probable that *music* and *dancing* were the two allied subjects in which women held sway in those days. Whenever a reference is made in praise of woman she is invariably referred to as skilled in *singing* and *dancing* ( *kusalā naccagītesu* )".

It appears from these remarks that *ālekhyā* or the art of painting was not practised by the average girl of those days and though Mr. Mehta has not noticed its practice by the *ganikās* or courtezans we have nothing in his account of them to combat the suggestion made by me above that *ālekhyā* may have been practised by them along with *music* and *dancing*. This is, however, only a suggestion to be verified by close students of Buddhist literature.

In case no evidence is produced by Buddhist and other scholars regarding the practice of the art of painting by women in the pre-Buddhist period we shall have to presume that the practice originated with the growth of early Indian painting and died a natural death with the decay of that art at the beginning of the mediaeval period of Indian history, say about 900 A. D. But this presumption needs verification by experts in the history of Indian art and cannot be undertaken by a layman like myself at the present stage of my study of these and allied problems.

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Ibid, p. 277.—I take this opportunity of requesting Mr. Mehta to trace any references to the practice of the art of painting either by courtezans or ordinary women in the Jātaka Stories with a view to establish some definite starting point for the practice of painting by Indian women which prevailed for no less than 1000 years.

JAGADDHARA'S INDEBTEDNESS TO HARIHARA  
AN ANCIENT COMMENTATOR OF THE  
MĀLATI-MĀDHAVA \*

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In this paper, an attempt is made to establish the fact that Jagaddhara, the commentator of the Mālati-Mādhava by Bhavabhūti, has borrowed to a very great extent, from the older commentary on the same play, by Harihara.

In the course of my search for Mss. of the Mālati-Mādhava, a critical edition of which I am preparing at present<sup>1</sup> I came across a Ms. of the commentary of Harihara. The Catalogus Catalogorum of Dr. Aufrecht does not contain any mention of this commentary. As far as I know, it exists in a single Ms. only. It belongs to the Asiatic Society, Bengal. It is written in the Nevāri Script and contains 94 folios. Barring a few major lacunae here and there,<sup>2</sup> and slight damages to a letter or a small group of letters throughout, it is complete.

The most important fact about the Ms. for the History of Sanskrit Literature is that it contains a mention of the exact date of its composition and the name of its author. The following information can be gathered from its colophon and the concluding stanzas.<sup>3</sup> It was written by Miśra Śrī Harihara, the son of

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\* This paper was read before the 10th All India Oriental Conference and was accepted for publication in the Proceedings of the Conference. It is published here with the permission of the Secretary of the Conference.

My grateful thanks are due to the University of Bombay for a Research-studentship they granted me for this purpose, during 1937-1939.

<sup>1</sup> In all 5 folios are missing.

<sup>2</sup> इति मिश्र श्रीहरिहराचितायां मालतीमाधवप्रकरणटीकायां दशमेऽङ्के ॥

श्रीमान्हरिहरमिश्रो विषमे ग्रन्थेऽत्र बोधमाधातुम् ।

व्यधितपराशरगोत्र[ः] टीक्षां संक्षेपतो रुचिराम् ॥

षड्वह्निरामगे वर्षे पौषशुक्लेऽयं वासरे ।

भयुजं चामृते योगे राज्येऽरिमल्लदेवीये ॥

Moghadeva. He belonged to the Parāśara Gotra. The commentary was written in the year 336 ( Nepal Śaka, corresponding to A. D. 1216 ) on Tuesday, Amṛta Yoga, in the bright half of the month of Pauṣa, in the kingdom of the king Arimalla ( of Nepal ). Thus it will be seen that the commentary is 725 years old.

Jagaddhara, on the other hand, has been placed by the late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, between the 15th and the 16th c. A. D. <sup>1</sup> In the second introductory stanza of his commentary, <sup>2</sup> Jagaddhara admits that he has consulted an earlier commentary. But he nowhere mentions the name of the author whose commentary he used. When, however, we compare the commentary of Jagaddhara with that of Harihara, it is discovered, almost on every page that Jagaddhara has extensively borrowed, without acknowledgements, from Harihara ; and the conclusion is irresistibly forced on us that the commentary referred to by Jagaddhara in the introductory stanza, must be none other than the one written by Harihara.

The nature of Jagaddhara's borrowings from Harihara is, indeed, varied. ( 1 ) He either borrows ' verbatim ' the passages from Harihara, or takes over the interpretations offered by Harihara but deliberately changes the construction of the sentence or paraphrases a word here or a word there. The majority of his borrowings fall under the second category, though the instances of the first are by no means rare. ( 2 ) At times he summarizes the interpretations of Harihara. ( 3 ) In two cases, at least, it can be pointed out that Jagaddhara has committed slips which can be corrected by a reference to the commentary of Harihara. ( 4 ) He sometimes adopts the readings of the text of the play, as given by Harihara or notices them without actually accepting them. ( 5 ) In one instance Jagaddhara has criticised Harihara, without, of course, mentioning his name, as usual. I have prepared a complete list of all such instances as prove Jagaddhara's indebtedness to Harihara, and they are well over 400. But for fear of making this paper too bulky, I shall con-

<sup>1</sup> See p. XXI, Preface to the 2nd ed. ( 1905 A. D. ) of the *Mālati-Mādhava* edited by Dr. Bhandarkar. Mr. P. K. Gode, M. A., the Scholar-ordinator of the B. O. R. I., Poona, has prepared a paper on date of Jagaddhara. He places him between 1350 and 1450 A. D.

<sup>2</sup> नत्वा गुरुमुण्यगुरुनवलोक्य टीका etc.



tent myself by giving a few specimens of each type. They will be duly pointed out in full, in my edition of the commentary of Harihara to be published before long.

Though Jagaddhara is thus deeply indebted to Harihara for the interpretation of the *Mālatī-Mādhva*, his commentary is still important; for, he quotes repeatedly from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata and many Lexicons, and when a critical edition of his commentary is prepared, it will be very useful in determining the text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the Lexicons quoted by him. It is rather unfortunate that though the late Dr. Bhandarkar utilized 9 Mss. of his commentary, he has not reproduced the Sanskrit renderings of the Prakrit passages in the play (*chāyā*), as given by Jagaddhara, for that would have greatly facilitated the task of deciding the readings of the Prakrit passages he had before him, on the one hand, and the exact extent of his indebtedness to Harihara, on the other.

It will be an interesting problem to study the other commentaries written by Jagaddhara and to see whether they are his original work or are based on some earlier commentaries.

Now, we shall quote passages from the two commentaries, to illustrate the views stated above.

(I) Exact Parallelisms:—<sup>1</sup>

Jagaddhara <sup>2</sup>	Harihara <sup>3</sup>
(1) यद्यदि वीप्सया शार्दूलाघोर- घण्टविमर्दसूचनम् ।	do.
—p. 8	—p. 3 <sup>a</sup>
(2) अत एव देहीति ब्राह्मणोचिता प्रार्थना ।	do.
—p. 8	—p. 3 <sup>a</sup>
(3) प्रमथ्य मारयित्वा विभक्ता खण्डखण्डीकृत्य धृता ।	do.
—p. 397	—p. 86 <sup>b</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Under this head, I have included such passages, even, wherein a few words of Harihara are paraphrased or the construction of the sentence is slightly changed by Jagaddhara.

<sup>2</sup> The references are to Dr. Bhandarkar's 2nd edition (1905 A. D.) of the *Mālatī-Mādhava*.

<sup>3</sup> The references are to the folio numbers of the Mss., as far as possible; for some of the numbers are destroyed.

Jagaddhara

Harihara

(4) नन्दने प्रहर्षो मकरन्दमदयन्ति-  
कानुरूपघटनात् ।

—p. 454

(5) सुहृदोभिमतं यदि घटेति निष्प-  
द्येत तदा मदीयैः प्राणैस्तपोभिर्वा तत्कृत्यं  
कृतं स्यात् । अघटने तु सर्वमिदं व्यर्थ-  
मित्यर्थः ।

—p. 25

(6) अत्र कुले जात आमुष्यायणः ।  
तत्रभवतः पूज्यस्य । सुगृहीतं शोभनो-  
च्चारणं बलिकर्णादिवन्मङ्गल्यं नाम  
यस्य ।

—p. 13

(7) इह गम्भीरमुरजरवश्रुतिकृष्ट-  
मयूरभयेन फणिनां विवरानुसरणं जलद-  
कालचिह्नम् । अत एव जलदकालमनु-  
भाव्यैवेतत्प्रकरणवृत्तान्त इति ध्वनितम् ।  
तथा च वक्ष्यति । धारासिक्तवसुन्धरा-  
सुरभय इत्यादि । मुरजघातेन वायमलि-  
मालया दिशां मुखरीकरणेन गीतं वदन-  
विधुनेन नृत्यं सूचयता तौर्यत्रिकमुक्तम् ।  
चीत्कारेण नृत्यतः प्रव्यक्तपाठोऽपि-  
सूचितः ।

—p. 3

(8) तैत्तिरीयिणस्तैत्तिरीयशाखा-  
विशेषपाठिन इत्यर्थः । काश्यपाः  
काश्यपगोत्राः । चरणगुरव इति चरण-  
शब्दः शाखाविशेषाध्ययनपरैकतापन्न-  
जनसंघवाची । तत्र समूहे ते गुरवः  
क्रियां कृत्वा वेदाध्यापयितारः । स

नन्दनस्य प्रहर्षो मकरन्दमदयन्तिका-  
नुरूपघटनात् ।

—p. 93<sup>a</sup>

सुहृदोभिमतं यदि घटेति—.....  
तदा प्राणैर्मदीयैस्तपोभिर्वा कृत्यं कृतं  
स्यात् । अघटने तु व्यर्थमिदमखिल-  
मित्यर्थः ।

—p. 21<sup>a</sup>

अत्र कुले जातः आमुष्यायणः । तत्र  
भवतः पूज्यस्य । सुगृहीतं शोभनोच्चा-  
रणं बलिकर्णादिवद्.....नाम यस्य ।

—p. 5<sup>b</sup>

अत्रापि गम्भीरतारनिन्दकृष्टमयूर-  
त्रासेन फणिनां विवरानुसरणं जलद-  
समयाचिह्नं । अतश्च जलदसमयसमा-  
रम्भमनुप्राप्यायं प्रकरणार्थभूतो वृत्तान्त  
इति सूचितम् । तथा च वक्ष्यति  
धारासिक्तवसुन्धरामुरभयः प्राप्तास्त...  
धर्माभ्योविगमागमव्यतिकरश्रीवाहिनी  
वासरा इति । अत्र च मुरजघातेन वाय-  
मालिमालया दिशां मुखरीकरणेन गीतं  
वदनविधुनेन नृत्यमासूत्रयता तौर्यत्रिक-  
मुपदाश्रीतम् । चीत्कारेण च नृत्यतः  
सुव्यक्तः पाठोऽपि सूचित इति ।

—p. 2<sup>a</sup>

तैत्तिरीयिनः तैत्तिरीयनामकशाखा-  
विशेषाध्यायिनः । काश्यपाः काश्यप-  
गोत्राः । चरणगुरव इति चरण-शब्दः  
शाखाविशेषा.....नैकतापन्नपुरुषसमूह-  
वाची । तथा चानुवादे चरणानामित्य-  
त्रोदाहरणं प्रत्यष्टात्कठकालापमिति ।

Jagaddhara

Harihara

गुरुर्यः क्रियां कृत्वा वेदमस्मै प्रयच्छति  
इति स्मृतेः ।

—p. 12

(9) तदेवं मद्यान्तिकामादाय मकरन्दे माधवान्तिकं चलिते मालतीमादाय निर्गतस्य माधवस्य कामन्दकी गृहस्थितस्य वार्ताप्रस्तावनायावलोकिता प्रवेशः

—p. 334

(10) या माला प्रियसख्या लवङ्गिकया हस्तेनोपनीता मद्ग्रथितेति हेतोः प्रेम्णाऽनया मालत्या पीनकुचघटमुकुलस्य भरो यत्र तेन क्रोडेन सह संभाविता संभावनां नीता ततो नन्दनेन सह विवाहे संप्राप्ते मां प्रति निरस्तप्रत्याशया लवङ्गिकेयमित्यधिगते मद्येव यया सर्वस्वदानं कृतम् । अनेन पूर्वानुरागकथनेन नायिकाविश्रम्भ उक्तः । विस्तारः परिणाहः । कुम्भपदेनोन्नतता कुड्मलपदेन मृदुता भरशब्देन प्रौढरुक्ता । दीयत इति दायः ।

—p. 344

(11) The alternative explanation of Jagaddhara, of the stz. अलसवलितमृग्य etc. I. 28, extending over 20 printed lines is almost bodily taken from Harihara, where it is the only explanation offered.

(II) Summary of Harihara by Jagaddhara:—

Jagaddhara

Harihara

(12) इह तावत्त्रिविधाः पुरुषाः ।  
केचिदज्ञा एव । केचिद्वैतमग्नमनसः  
काव्यविरसाः । इतरे सहृदयहृदया-  
मोदिकाव्यभग्नरसभररसिकाः ।

—p. 14

तत्र समूहे ते गुरवः ....कृत्वा वेदा-  
ध्यापयितारः । स गुरुर्यः क्रियां कृत्वा  
वेदमस्मै प्रयच्छति । इति वचनात् ।

—p. 5<sup>a</sup>

तदेवं मद्यान्तिकामादाय मकरन्दे माधवसमीपे चलिते मालतीमादाय निर्गतस्य माधवस्य कामन्दकीविहारिकाप्रदेशस्थितस्य वृत्तान्तप्रस्तावनायावलोकिता प्रवेशः ।

—p. 75<sup>b</sup>

या माला प्रियसख्या लवङ्गिकोपनीता मद्ग्रथितेति कृत्वा प्रेम्णा स्तनोत्सङ्गेन सह योजिता ततो नन्दनेन सह विवाहप्रक्रमे संप्राप्ते मां प्रति विगताशयापि लवङ्गिका भ्रमेण सर्वस्वमिव समर्पितेति पूर्वानुरागवृत्तान्तस्मारणान्नायिकाविश्रम्भणम् । विस्तारः (री) परिणाहवान् । कुम्भशब्देनोन्नतता । कुड्मलशब्देन मार्दवं भरशब्देन प्रौढिः । दीयत इति दायः ।

—p. 77<sup>a</sup>

इह खलु पशुप्रायवेदयज्ञविधर्माः  
..... श्रुतशालिनोपि त्रेधा  
भवन्ति । केचन यत्किंचिदेकप्रसिद्धमार्गे  
परिचयमात्रेण कृपमण्डकवदवगमिताः

सकलत्रिलोकीतलाः स्वनिवासप्रवेश-  
प्रचरत्प्रकाराधिरूपसत्तामात्रमापि सर्व-  
थैवासहमाना महत्यहंकारपट्टे निमग्नाः।  
अपरे तु स्वस्य.....सत्त्वमार्गा अपि  
विषयव्युत्पत्तिचातुरीपरीतमतयः प्रसि-  
द्धविदग्धगोष्ठीप्रतिष्ठितसङ्कदयप्रथमरेखा  
दुरवगाहरसमहोदधिनिमज्जदानन्दकन्द-  
लितचेतसः कामिव नरं न रञ्जयन्ति ।  
अन्ये तु वैषयिकदोषभाषनाशीथिलित-  
सकलप्रवृत्तयः प्रविगलदखिलराग-  
निर्मलीभवदन्तरात्मानः प्रत्याहारमार्ग-  
सुगमस्वावबोधप्रसरदाजानिकपरमान-  
न्दसंदोहानुभवविक्षेपमक्षममाणाः क्षण-  
मापि नैवाविधेषु विषयेष्वभिमुखी-  
भवन्ति ।

—pp. 6<sup>b</sup>, 7<sup>a</sup>

In this passage it will be noticed that Jagaddhara has changed the order of the 2nd and the 3rd categories of men, mentioned by Harihara.

(III) The slips in Jagaddhara's commentary can be corrected by a reference to the commentary of Harihara.

Jagaddhara

Harihara

(1) सूत्रं संभोगः पटारम्भकस्तन्तुर्वा ।

सूत्रं सम्भोगपटारम्भकस्तन्तुः ।

—p. 11

—p. 4

Here it will be seen that Jagaddhara's alternative explanation of सूत्रं is needless and the mistake is due to his misreading of Harihara.

Jagaddhara.

Harihara.

(2) अनेनात्र कामोद्दीपकतयोद्धृत्यं  
गुणाय । स्वाभाविकस्य तस्य भूषणत्व-  
मिति दर्शितम् ।

स्वाभाविकी उद्धृतता दोषाय रावण-  
परशुरामादीनामिव ।

—p. 5<sup>a</sup>

—p. 11

Here also Jagaddhara seems to be in the wrong, (if भूषणत्वं is not a misprint for दूषणत्वं, which is also quite possible) for the

sentence स्वाभाविकस्य तस्य etc. appears to be contrasted with the first sentence. But the contrast disappears with the reading दूषणत्वं. With the help of Harihara, however, we can safely correct दूषणत्वं to दूषणत्वं. The slip in Jagaddhara seems to be due to his having omitted the reference to रावण and परशुराम.

(IV) Readings of Harihara adopted by Jagaddhara :--

P. 33. Jagaddhara has the reading कपालव्रतं, with Harihara, though Dr. Bhandarkar reads कापालिकव्रतं (कापालिअव्वदं). None of the Mss. collated by him shows this reading.

P. 151 औन्निद्येण is the reading of Jagaddhara and Harihara, as against Dr. Bhandarkar's उन्निद्रा (रजनीर्गमयति ।).

P. 213. Jagaddhara's reading is निर्भियोक्तव्य. He notices the other reading उत्कृत्योक्तव्य (उत्कृत्येति पाठे....) which is the reading of Harihara (and of Dr. Bhandarkar also).

P. 221. Jagaddhara notices the reading एकमुखं (एकमुखमिति पाठे....) which is the reading of Harihara.

P. 250. Jagaddhara reads शिवदायी and notices शिवताति: as the other reading. This is found in Harihara, together with the comment on it which is taken over by Jagaddhara,

(V) Jagaddhara criticises Harihara :--

Jagaddhara

Harihara

पुरुषश्छन्दस्येव युज्यते इत्यदेश्यम् ।	पुरुषशब्दस्यादिदीर्घस्य पुरुषवाच्यत्वे
पूर्वपुरुषतपांसि जयन्तीत्यादिनैषधदर्श-	छन्दस्येव वरं साधुत्वाद् भाषायां प्रयोग-
नाम्नाषायामपि तत्प्रयोगात् ।	श्चिन्त्यः ।

--p. 167

--p. 39<sup>b</sup>

The word पुरुष in पुरुषश्छन्दस्येव from Jagaddhara is a mistake for पुरुष°. It cannot be said to be a mistake in Harihara who qualifies पुरुषस्य by आदिदीर्घस्य. This suggests that sufficient care was not taken by Jagaddhara while borrowing from Harihara.

I hope that the above passages, which are not exhaustive but illustrative only, will fully bear out my contention that Jagaddhara is really indebted to Harihara, though he has not mentioned his name anywhere in his commentary. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I take this opportunity to pay my respectful thanks to my Guru, Prof. H. D. Velankar, M. A., of the Wilson College for encouraging me to write this paper and to Mr. P. K. Gode, M. A. Curator of the B. O. R. I., Poona for offering valuable suggestions from time to time.

## RĀVANA

A Study in the Light of the New Psychology ) \*

BY

P. R. CHIDAMBARA IYER, B.A., F.R.A.S.

But I that am not shaped for sportive tricks,  
Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass ;  
I, that am rudely stamped, and want love's majesty  
To strut before a wanton ambling nymph,—  
I, that am curtailed of this fair proportion,  
Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,  
Deformed, unfinished, sent before my time  
Into this breathing world scarce half made up,  
And that so lamely and unfashionable,  
That dogs bark at me as I halt by them :—  
Why, I, in this piping time of peace,  
Have no delight to pass away the time,  
Unless to spy my shadow in the sun,  
And descant on my own deformity ;  
And therefore, since I cannot prove a lover  
To entertain these fair well-spoken days,  
I am determined to prove a villain,  
And hate the idle pleasures of these days.  
Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,  
By drunken prophecies, libels, and dreams,  
To set my brother Clarence and the King  
In deadly hate, the one against the other :

*Shakespeare, Richard III.*

One of the many influences of the New Psychology has been to bring home to us the necessity to change our usual attitude towards the criminal and the wicked. It had been already recognized that a great deal of human behaviour remained incomprehensible, so long as we tried to explain it as the outcome of the consciousness of which the doer was aware. With the investigations of Freud, Jung, Adler and others, which opened up new knowledge regarding the human mind, we are today enabled to realize the rather illusory nature of the apparent import-

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ance attached to rational activity alone, there having accumulated a mass of evidence to show that conscious beliefs, and outward conduct and behaviour of individuals are largely determined by forces lurking in and operating from submerged levels of the mind, which go by the name of the unconscious. Whether a person is an asset to, or at least a normal desirable member of, society or whether he is a misfit or a menace to it, depends on the nature and direction of these motive springs, which are again the outcome of the influences under which the individual's psyche had to grow up in his early and impressionable years. In the light of this knowledge, we realize that the criminal or the wicked should be classed as victims of certain drives rather than as agents responsible for the criminality or wickedness. And the many case histories, and studies of mythological figures and characters in fiction found published in the ever-growing psycho analytic literature amply bear out this view.

It occurred to me some time ago that it would be interesting as well as profitable to attempt a study of the personality of Rāvaṇa, whether as a real historical personage or as a character in mythology or fiction, and try to discover how he developed into what he was and why he did all that he did. To the ordinary view of the world, his life was like a terrific, irresistible simoom, selfish, aggressive, cruel, lustful, overpowering all forces of order, outraging all ethical conscience, guilty of many an unrighteous deed, so much so that the great stabilizing force of the universe, the cosmic *elan vital*, as we may call it, had to make a special manifestation equal to the need, in the personality of Rāmacandra, in order to wipe it out.

Such a character is bound to be of immense interest to the psychologist, who readily sees in him a psychopathic personality of a pronounced type, the final shape acquired by an individual psyche as the result of its unsuccessful struggles against handicaps which were not of its own making, the various manifestations of abnormal conduct denoting over-compensations or compensations in the wrong direction for feelings of inferiority suffered in early life. Now before proceeding further, let us see what is meant by a psychopathic personality. It is a personality characterized by persistent abnormality of character and social

conduct," or to be more explanatory, "a personality with a mental disorder not amounting to insanity or taking the specific form of a psychoneurosis, but characterized by defect of character or personality, eccentricity, emotional instability, inadequacy or perversity of conduct, undue conceit and suspiciousness, or lack of commonsense, social feeling, self-control, truthfulness, energy or persistence, different cases showing different combinations of these traits." The possibility of the individual being brilliant is not precluded, but self-importance plays a large part and everything is interpreted as having a personal reference. Many of these in an intensified form will be readily identified in Ravana but in order to trace them to their source, it is necessary that we should have materials relating to his origin and childhood. In the Rāmāyana proper, Ravana already appears as a mature individual, but a friend directed me to the Uttarakāṇḍa for accounts of his birth and childhood. I was much gratified to find therein very valuable material to give us a sufficient basis for a study.

Now under what circumstances, according to modern psychology, do children develop the inferiority complex and what are its manifestations in later adult life? In a small psychological monograph on "The Inferiority Complex,"<sup>1</sup> we find the following brief account:

"Feelings of inferiority arise through the peculiar position of the young human, and the nature or rather the quality of his early training. Three types of children are particularly prone to develop in later life distinct feelings of inferiority.

1 The hated and unwanted child. The tragedy of being hated and unwanted lies in the damage done to the spirit and mind. Such children grow up so maimed in outlook that they become the enemies of society. Such a child believes that his fellows are his enemies. Such a feeling and belief is the breeding ground of rebels, criminals and parasites.

2 The child who suffers from organic inferiority. This term is used to denote any noticeable condition of the body, which suggests departure from the normal. This may cover a multi-

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<sup>1</sup> By W. J. McBride.



tude of characteristics; anything in fact from a mole on the face of a pretty girl to a deformed and twisted body. Anything between these two extremes may be factors in developing a sense of inferiority. Dr. Beran Wolfe gives the following list of potential causes: exceptional fatness or thinness, birth-marks, red hair, albinism, extreme hairiness, an abnormally shaped nose, difference in the colour of the eyes, protruding teeth, cleft-chin or receding chin, scrawny neck or abnormally fat neck, sloping shoulders, enlarged breasts or difference in the size of the breasts, large waist-lines, wide hips or abnormally narrow hips, long legs or short legs, bow legs or knock-knees, large feet or very small feet, baldness or facial hair, acne, freckles, vasomotor instability, feminine bodies in men and masculine bodies in women, and a lot of other variations from the physiological norm may become the basis of an inferiority complex, and thus may lead to misanthropy, isolation and fear.

### 3 The ultimately unfortunate position of the spoilt child."

For the sake of convenience, I have altered the order in which the causes are cited. If, on the authority of J. B. Morgan,<sup>1</sup> we also include the feeling of inferiority, whether real or fancied, in respect of certain desirable mental and moral qualities and the influence of the fear of death, we have a fairly comprehensive scheme for our purpose. But heredity must receive our attention first. It consists of two important factors, one the *natural inheritance* enregistered in the germ-plasm, the phylogenetic tendencies inherent in the nervous system received from the parents, and the other the *social heritage*, the extra organismal gains of the race, such as literature, art, institutions &c., which play a great part in the shaping of the life of the individual, through contact with the living parents and the particular society or herd to which he belongs.

When we consider, then, the origin of Rāvaṇa, the first thing that strikes us is that he was the progeny of a mixed marriage, marriage between a female of the Rākṣasa stock and a male, a Rṣi claiming direct descent from a Deva, Brahmā himself. These two stocks are reputed to be diametrically opposed to each other in temperament, codes of conduct and civilizations. It is

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<sup>1</sup> *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child.*

therefore natural that Rāvaṇa should have the heritage of a mental and physical constitution, forming a battle-ground for two conflicting "congenitally-determined instinct-dispositions." How this marriage was brought about is interesting. Lāṅkā had been originally occupied by the Rākṣasas, who, fearing Viṣṇu, fled the country and took up abode in Rasātala. Lāṅkā remained untenanted for a long time, and Vaiśravaṇa was deputed to take his residence there and be a Dikpālaka and the Lord of all the Riches. On one occasion, Sumāli, one of the three great Rākṣasa leaders, coming out of Rasātala and wandering about the abode of men, saw Vaiśravaṇa going in his aerial car Puṣpaka, on a visit to his father. Sumāli was struck by the God-like beauty and grandeur of Vaiśravaṇa. He returned to Rasātala and became immersed in thought. We can well imagine that not only was he excited by wonder and admiration for Kubera, but also by envy and resentment. For was not Lāṅkā, now being enjoyed by Vaiśravaṇa, once his and his kinsmen's? He began to wonder how honour could be regained and the prosperity of the Rākṣasas promoted.

इत्येवं चिन्तयामास राक्षसानां महामतिः ॥<sup>1</sup>

किं कृत्वा श्रेय इत्येवं वर्षेमाहि कथं वयम् ।

Uttarakāṇḍa, ch. 9, Ver. 5-6

A solution came to him, viz. to carry out an experiment in eugenics. He called his daughter and said, "My dear daughter, you have arrived at the marriageable age, and in spite of our efforts no suitor comes seeking your hand. Probably they are afraid of refusal, seeing that we are people of very high status. So what I would tell you is this: "Go to Viśravas, that foremost of Ṛṣis, descended from the line of Prajāpati and propose to him yourself. Then, without a doubt, you will have sons like Dhaneśvara, resplendent like the Sun."

सा त्वं मुनिवरं श्रेष्ठं प्रजापतिकूलोद्भवम् ।

भज विश्रवसं पुत्रि पौलस्त्यं वरय स्वयम् ॥

ईदृशास्ते भविष्यन्ति पुत्राः पुत्रि न संशयः ।

तेजसा भास्करसमो यादृशोऽयं धनेश्वरः ॥

Ibid. ch. 9, Ver. 12-13

<sup>1</sup> The texts quoted are from the Rāmāyaṇa, Nirṇayaśāgara Press Edition, 1930.

7 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Accordingly, she went to the place where Viśravas was performing *tapasyā*. It was the time when he was engaged in *Agnihotra*. Owing to respect for her father, it did not occur to her to see whether the time was appropriate. She simply approached him and stood before him, shy and modest, with head bent and face directed to her own feet. Seeing that bonny lass, the noble Viśravas said, "Good lady, whose daughter are you? Whence do you come? What do you want and in whose behalf? Tell me everything without any reserve." Saluting him, the maiden replied, "Sir, it behoves you to guess the object of my visit, but I would only say that I have come here at the behest of my father. My name is Kaikasī and I request you to divine the rest."

सा तु तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा कन्यका पितृगौरवात् ।  
 तत्र गत्वा च सा तस्थौ विश्रवा यत्र तप्यते ॥  
 एतस्मिन्नन्तरे राम पुलस्त्यतनयो द्विजः ।  
 अग्निहोत्रमुपातिष्ठच्चतुर्थ इव पावकः ॥  
 अत्रिचिन्त्य तु तां वेलां दारुणां पितृगौरवात् ।  
 उपसृत्याग्रतस्तस्य चरणाधोमुखी स्थिता ॥  
 विलिखन्ती मुहुर्भूमिद्वग्गुष्टाग्रेण भामिनी ।  
 स तु तां वीक्ष्य सुश्रोणीं पूर्णचन्द्रनिभाननाम् ॥  
 अब्रवीत्परमोदारो दीप्यमानां स्वनेजसा ।  
 भद्रे कस्यासि दुहिता कुतो वा त्वमिहागता ॥  
 किं कार्यं कस्य वा हेतोस्तत्त्वतो ब्रूहि शोभने ॥  
 एवमुक्ता तु सा कन्या कृताञ्जलिरथाब्रवीत् ।  
 आत्मप्रभावेण मुने ज्ञातुमर्हसि मे मतम् ॥  
 किं तु मां विद्धि ब्रह्मर्षे शासनात्पितुरागताम् ।  
 कैकसी नाम नाम्नाहं शेषं त्वं ज्ञातुमर्हसि ॥

Ibid. ch. 9, Ver. 14-20

From the above episode certain interesting points emerge. That Sumāli is trying a new experiment becomes clear from the fact that it takes some persuasion on his part to make his daughter approach Viśravas, and the persuasion is necessary, because the proposed step appears to have been a departure from the general custom. The words of Sumāli :

पुत्रि प्रदानकालोऽयं यौवनं व्यतिवर्तते ।  
 प्रत्याख्यानाच्च भीतिस्त्वं न वरः परिगृह्यसे ॥

तत्कृते च वयं सर्वे यन्त्रिता धर्मबुद्धयः ।  
त्वं हि सर्वगुणोपेता श्रीः साक्षादिव पुत्रिके ॥

ibid. ch. 9, Ver. 8-9

indicate that the ordinary custom is for suitors to go in quest of their brides, but that in the case of Kaikasi he seeks to make out that in spite of her accomplishments and beauty and in spite of efforts on the part of himself and the relatives, no suitors were coming forward. Kaikasi, however, does not appear to be convinced and to have fallen in with the proposal with her whole heart, but goes to see Viśravas out of पितृगौरव, respect for her father. This very same पितृगौरव, however, makes her forget to consider the suitability or otherwise of the time and proves disastrous, as we shall see presently. To Viśravas she takes special care to mention that she has gone there at the behest of her father. This is apparently intended to protect her own honour, but it does not fit in with the fact that she is content to leave everything else about her visit to be divined by the great Rṣi. So to the psychoanalyst, this *pitrgaurava* as the cause of her visit and as the cause of the failure to note the proper time and the words शासनापितुरागतं signify that there was an inner protest in her against the step and that her unconscious was making use of the same पितृगौरव to spoil the business. It is also well known in psychoanalytical technique that undue emphasis laid on any point is sure to mean a weakness at that point indicating the contrary of what is emphasized. Perhaps the emphasis on पितृगौरव really means that Kaikasi did not admire her father's wisdom in this particular matter at least. In the result, it gives us the suggestion of a loveless match.

Nor can Viśravas have been happy about it. He knew everything by meditation and to the Rṣi of great intuition, Kaikasi's words किं तु मां विद्धि ब्रह्मर्षे शासनापितुरागताम् must have revealed the intention of Sumāli in detailing his daughter to him. There must be a reaction against it, a desire to defeat it. But here was a young lady standing before him inviting his encouragement, and it was unchivalrous, unmanly, nay even sinful in those days, to snub her and send her away. What could he do? "Well, come along, then", he said, "but I warn you that this most inauspicious time at which you have come to me *desirous of progeny* indicates that you will have bad sons."

दारुणान्दारुणाकारान्दारुणाभिजनप्रियात् ॥  
प्रसविष्यसि सुश्रोणि राक्षसान्कूरकर्मणः ।

Ibid, ch. 9 Ver. 23-24

Thus does he make a prophecy—or shall we say a prophetic determination?—that she would bring forth Rākṣasas, cruel in nature, fierce-looking, associating with cruel relatives and doing cruel deeds. I say prophetic determination, because this preconceived idea of what the child would be will unconsciously colour or vitiate the father's future attitude towards it in its upbringing. Besides, Baudouin says in his "Suggestion and Autosuggestion" that prophecies will germinate in our minds into veritable suggestions and will tend to realize themselves and that "there is no radical difference between the action of suggestion when its results are purely functional and its action when its results are organic." The stage is thus ideally set for the coming in of an unwanted child, and indeed Kaikāśi openly says :

भगवन्नीदृशान्पुत्रांस्त्वत्तोऽहं ब्रह्मवादिनः ।

नेच्छामि सुदुराचारान् प्रसादं कर्तुमर्हसि ॥

Ibid, ch. 9 Ver. 25

"Sir, such sons, from you, a Brahmovādin, I desire not—those of vicious conduct; may it please you to be gracious to me." The one attractive feature in Sumālī's advice was the prospect of her having sons like Dhaneśvara. Imagine, therefore, her chagrin at what Viśravaś tells her. Her keen disappointment and strong aversion to having such sons are well brought out by the very order in which the poet uses the words. But there is no remedy. Viśravaś only says that the last son would be a *dharamātmā*, whose conduct would be consonant with the father's line.

So Rāvaṇa was born. He had ten heads and twenty arms and teeth like big tusks, and he looked like a stack of (lumps of)<sup>1</sup> black collyrium. His lips were red like copper, his mouth large and he had flaming hair.

<sup>1</sup> The word used is चय which primarily means an assemblage or stack, rather inappropriate to go with black pigment. The colour of Rāvaṇa must first have suggested to the poet the idea of black collyrium, but the next moment the ten heads, twenty arms &c. must have brought to his mind the image of an odd collection, and hence the inevitable combination नीलाञ्जनचय,

एवमुक्ता तु सा कन्या राम कालेन केनचित् ।  
 जनयामास बभित्सं रक्षोरूपं सुदारुणम् ॥  
 दशग्रीवं महादंष्ट्रं नीलाञ्जनचयोपमम् ।  
 ताम्रोष्ठं विशतिभुजं महास्यं दीप्तमूर्धजम् ॥

Ibid. ch. 9. Ver. 29-29

That is to say, he was, besides being ugly, a greater monstrosity physically than was perhaps anticipated. For Viśravas had only said that Kaikasi would bring forth fierce-looking Rākṣasas and if Kumbhakarna answered that description, there was no reason why Rāvaṇa should have been more grotesque in appearance. I wonder if some legitimate speculation is not permissible here to find out the cause of Rāvaṇa's malformation. It is well known that the course of pregnancy is a period of physical and emotional disturbance, fantastic tastes and whims being noticed then even in otherwise perfectly normal women. If at this period the *enceinte* mother is ever haunted by the knowledge of what kind of unwanted baby is growing in her womb, is it any wonder if she is subject to emotional outbursts and violence? The following statement from Freud is significant.

"How many mothers who today love their children tenderly, perhaps with excessive tenderness, yet conceived them unwillingly and wished that the life within them might not develop further; and have indeed turned this wish into various actions, fortunately of a harmless kind?" He also cites this case. "The child was the offspring of an unhappy marriage.....Once when the child was as yet unborn, the mother, in an access of rage after a violent scene with her husband, beat her body with her clenched fists in order to kill the baby in her womb." In the Mahābhārata we know what Gāndhārī did. Meyer in his *Sexual Life in Ancient India* describes this incident as follows. "Gāndhārī has been now with child for two years, her womb is hard, and she learns with sorrow that Kuntī has given birth; then with great torment she sets to thumping (ghātayāmāsa) her belly, and brings forth a lump of flesh as hard as a ball of iron. At Vyāsa's order she pours cold water over it, whereupon it falls into one hundred and one pieces, which she puts in a vessel with melted butter; a hundred sons and one daughter thus come into being." The wife of Kalmāṣapāda frees herself from the fruit of her womb, by opening her own body with a

stone. Thus we see that, although the development of the pieces of flesh into children by preservation in vessels of ghee is unbelievable, women in pregnancy do under emotional stress commit violence on themselves resulting possibly in a break-up of the embryo. Freud says "The work done by Roux and others on the mechanism of development has shown that a needle pricked into an embryonic cell mass undergoing division results in serious disturbances of the development; the same injury to a larva or full-grown animal would be innocuous." In the light of these examples, it seems to be reasonable to infer that Kaikāś must have, in the early stages of pregnancy, committed some act of violence on her person with the object of destroying the life growing within her, as the result of which the embryonic mass became partially shattered, but developed into a being with ten heads and twenty arms, instead of ten separate entities, which might have been the case, had there been a complete break up into as many fragments. This may be far-fetched from a biological point of view, but, if we have to accept Rāvaṇa's description as founded on fact, I suppose we can take it as an extraordinary occurrence on the above grounds, since we are told that the seed of a Ṛṣi has such vitality as to be almost indestructible. But whether he had really ten heads and twenty arms or the poet has given us only an exaggerated description, it is clear that Rāvaṇa had some extraordinary physical peculiarity, on the score of which he had a strong feeling of inferiority, as will be shown in the sequel.

Now, Paul Bousfield says "We cannot suppose that the psychic life of the child commences only on the date of its birth. Just as *in utero* its heart beats and it may move its little limbs, so no doubt in the unconscious it is laying the foundation of future mentality, and registering in some measure the effect of various stimuli which reach it *in utero*, i. e., movement and sound..... Had it any conscious imagining at all, it would naturally suppose itself to be the only individual in existence, moreover it would be an all-powerful individual." This is only the statement of the barest possibility. On the other hand, we have the extreme case, whether true or not, of Abhimanyu hearing from his mother's womb Lord Kṛṣṇa's description of certain military tactics and becoming a young hero and military genius.

Between these two extremes there ought to be all grades, and we have to remember that Ravana was no ordinary individual. Kaikasi's unhappiness and aversion at having an unwanted child growing in her, and her attitude and conversations corresponding to such cannot have failed to be enregistered in some way in Ravana's growing psyche. Her violent attempt to destroy the life, must have awakened the instinct of self-preservation and established the fear complex in the Ego of the child. As his form was extra-ordinary the process of birth must have been specially difficult and the traumatic effect of the experience must also have been correspondingly great. Its peaceful omnipotence is rudely disturbed, as it is forced down a narrow tunnel, pain is felt, which is a warning of the danger to life, and again fear of death or extinction is manifested predominantly in the psyche. Indeed the fear of death is one of the first complexes in Ravana's life, for the very first thing he tells Brahmā, when the latter appears before him pleased with his severe penance is: "Lord, to all living beings there is no perpetual fear greater than the fear of death and there is no enemy equal to Death, I therefore pray for the boon of immortality."

भगवन्प्राणिनां नित्यं नान्यत्र मरणाद्भयम् ।

नास्ति मृत्युसमः शत्रुरमरत्वमहं वृणे ॥

Ibid. ch. 10, Ver. 16

That is to say he wants to return to his secure omnipotence, by circumventing death. The strong narcissistic complex, the importance of self, becomes evident here. Such individuals are extremely impatient and they desire to accomplish their objects the instant the wish is conceived, and they do not wait to count the cost. Combined with this is the fear complex already mentioned. It is well known in psychology that the defence mechanism against fear is aggressiveness, because the unconscious knows that the best defence is to take the offensive. So wherever we find aggressiveness, which means cruelty, the desire to kill, to cause pain, we can be sure of the underlying motive spring to be nothing but fear. Thus we also find the seeds of Ravana's future mental constitution already laid before his birth.

Now he comes into the world a deformed creature, quite unlike others of his kin, not only ugly but shocking, repulsive in



appearance. *Bibhatsam* is the word the poet has employed to indicate the sort of feeling that is evoked at his sight. He has a physical peculiarity, which is sure to produce the inferiority complex, unless he is handled with care and sympathy. McDougall says: "Childern need to be encouraged in self-confidence rather than snubbed. Many a child has failed to realise his best potentialities by reason of lack of encouragement and sometimes a single remark may have long-lasting effects." The last sentence is to be specially noted. Parents have a very heavy responsibility here. But what do we find? Kaikāśī sees Dhaneśvara come to see his father. His brilliance excites her envy and she comes and tells Rāvaṇa. "My son, see Vaiśravaṇa surrounded by lustre and look at yourself like this, although you are his brother and an equal in that respect." Thus he is derided by his own mother and he is cut to the quick. In her wounded pride and sorrow in having such a son, she eggs him on "Therefore, ten-headed one of unequalled valour, you must try hard so that you also, my son, will become equal to Vaiśravaṇa."

अथ वैश्रवणो देवस्तत्र कालेन केनचित् ।

आगतः पितरं द्रष्टुं पुष्पकेण धनेश्वरः ॥

तं दृष्ट्वा कैकसी तत्र ज्वलन्तमिव तेजसा ।

आगम्य राक्षसी<sup>1</sup> तत्र दशग्रीवमुवाच ह ॥

पुत्र वैश्रवणं पश्य भ्रातरं तेजसावृतम् ।

भातृभावे समे चापि पश्यात्मानं त्वमीदृशम् ॥

दशग्रीव तथा यत्नं कुरुष्वामितविक्रम ।

यथा त्वमपि मे पुत्र भवेवैश्रवणोपमः ॥

Ibid. ch. 9, Ver. 40-43

By evoking the feeling of shame in him by an unfavourable comparison, and by urging him to make efforts to become his brother's equal, she only succeeded in turning compensation into the wrong channel. For immediately Rāvaṇa becomes filled with jealous anger, and replies: "Verily, I give you my word of promise that I will become equal to my brother and even greater

<sup>1</sup> It is specially noteworthy that while the poet has always been elegant and even chivalrous in his references to Kaikāśī, he has for the first and only time called her a Rākṣasī at this juncture, thereby unmistakably indicating the tempestuous passion which she, as a Rākṣasī, must have exhibited in this scene.

than he, and also in point of *Ojas*; do away with the burning of your heart."

मातुस्तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा दशग्रीवः प्रतापवान् ।  
 अमर्षमतुलं लेभे प्रतिज्ञां चाकरोत्तदा ॥  
 सत्यं ते प्रतिजानामि भ्रातृतुल्योऽधिकोऽपि वा ।  
 भविष्याम्योजसा चैव संतापं त्यज हृदयम् ॥

Ibid. ch. 9, Ver. 44-45

In fact this single event in Rāvaṇa's life, this dialogue between the mother and son, marks out the course of all his future development and conduct. It is a scene of the deepest import, coloured with a medley of strong emotions, and the poet has depicted it with the rarest psychological insight. The mother first feels envy at the sight of Vaiśravaṇa, then she displays derisive feeling against her own son, her heart feels wounded and sinks. At once her motherly love and pity and her own ambition for her son take hold of her and she wants to encourage him to make an effort to become like his brother. But it is not an encouragement born of understanding sympathy and hope. It is more an incitement made from heart-burning and despair. And what is Rāvaṇa's reaction to it? The poet has used the words अमर्षमतुलं लेभे to describe his feeling. Prof. Apte quotes the definition of अमर्ष given in Rasagaṅgādhara as, परकृतावज्ञादि-नानापराधजन्यो मौनवाक्पारुष्यादिकारणभूतश्चित्तवृत्तिरमर्षः The spirited fellow (प्रतापवान्) that he was, he felt exceedingly resentful on being considered inferior, but he has also the filial affection and regard for his mother and sees that her heart is also suffering on his account. He wants to apply the healing balm to her afflicted heart and so makes a great resolve before her, promising to be not only equal to his brother but greater than he. In doing so, however, he makes a special reference to his mother's derision of his physical appearance and says "also in point of *Ojas*" (ओजसा चैव) no doubt meaning that he would rival his brother also in physical splendour, although this might be considered impossible. In fact, the various emotional charges animating this scene defy analysis and I am only making a feeble attempt at barely indicating the line of interpretation. It is admirable how accurately the words are chosen and how purposively they are employed.

The feeling of inferiority thus charged with so much emotional affect becomes groved into his personality and to excel his brother in every respect even by getting rid of his own physical peculiarity becomes his sole guiding fiction. But the major emotion of anger which predominantly tones the picture turns all his efforts to achieve the end into the channel of aggressiveness and violence. We must mark how accurately the poet brings out this idea. It is mentioned that with *that same anger* he, together with his brothers, repaired to the blessed *āsrama* of Gokarapa, determined on doing the most difficult penance, and resolving within himself "I will attain my heart's desire by penance."

ततः क्रोधेन तेनैव दशग्रीवः सहानुजः ।

चिकीर्षुर्दुष्करं कर्म तपसे धृतमानसः ॥

प्राप्स्यामि तपसा काममिति कृत्वाध्यवस्य च ।

आगच्छदात्मसिद्ध्यर्थं गोकर्णस्याश्रमं शुभम् ॥

Ibid. ch. 9 Ver. 46-47

Here the poet particularly mentions anger as the driving force, but it is not anger pure and simple but the anger mentioned before, namely, the *amarṣa* which he flew into, when his mother felt ashamed of his appearance. All the same the poet has to introduce the word anger, because, as Prof. Apte has quoted from *Manusmṛti*, 'anger leads to the eight-fold manifestation of aggressiveness :

पैशुन्यं साहसं द्रोह ईर्ष्यासुयार्थदूषणम् ।

वाग्दण्डजं च पारुष्यं क्रोधजोऽपि गणोऽष्टकः ॥

Manu. 7. 48

It seems that in those good old days everything that one wanted was wrested out of Nature by *tapasyā*, which perhaps meant a sort of education with tears. Probably it was practice accompanied by the deepest form of concentration or autosuggestion, and self-mortification of various kinds. In Charles Baudouin's "*Suggestion and Autosuggestion*," we find the following passage under the chapter, Autohypnosis :

"As one of the curiosities of history, and further as a lesson in humility, we may point out that the states just described under the names of collectedness, contention, and autohypnosis, are described, with considerable psychological acumen, though

not of course in modern psychological terminology, in the precepts by which, for centuries past, the yogis of Hindustan have been accustomed to attain self-mastery."

Just as the ultramodern American schools of autosuggestion claim that the fruits to be attained by autosuggestion are unlimited or are limited only by the limitations imposed by the mind of the practitioner, *tapasyā* also appears to have been practised for the attainment of any cherished object, and the fruits were also characterised by the psychical limitations and the psychical bias of the person engaged in it. So we see Ravana and his brothers engaging themselves in forms of penance characteristically different with each of them, but the mode adopted by Ravana is extremely interesting and significant from a psychological point of view. He remained without food for ten thousand years. At the end of one thousand years, he offered one of his heads into the fire. In this way nine thousand years passed and nine heads went into the fire. At the end of the tenth thousand years, when Daśagrīva was going to cut off his tenth head, there arrived Brahmā, the Creator, who, with the gods standing near by, said. "Oh Dharmajña, I am pleased, ask of me at once whatever boon you desire; whatever your wish that I will bestow, your efforts are not for nothing." Then Ravana pleased in his heart of hearts thinks first of guarding himself against death, as was pointed out before, and asks for immortality, but Pitāmaha says that absolute deathlessness is not possible and that he might choose another. Whereupon Ravana says that he should be free from death at the hands of the several beings such as Suparṇas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Daityas, Dānavas and Rākṣasas, but that he had no fear from other beings, and that he cared a straw for man and such like beings. Brahmā agreed "Let it be as you have said." But mark, a wonderful thing happens. Brahmā is so pleased with him that he throws an extra unasked boon into the bargain, namely "those heads that are sacrificed into the fire by you before will all be in their places once again." What a cruel stroke! But Brahmā continues: "I shall give you yet another boon, one difficult to be obtained. You will get by mere thinking whatever form you wish to assume." When Pitāmaha said this, all the heads that were thrown into the fire sprang back to their old places.

दशवर्षसहस्रं तु निराहारो दशाननः ।  
 पूर्णे वर्षसहस्रे तु शिरश्चाग्नौ जुहाव सः ॥  
 एवं वर्षसहस्राणि नव तस्यातिचक्रमुः ।  
 शिरांसि नव चाप्यस्य प्रविष्टानि हुताशनम् ॥  
 अथ वर्षसहस्रे तु दशमे दशमं शिरः ।  
 छेत्तुकामे दशग्रीवे प्राप्तस्तत्र पितामहः ॥  
 पितामहस्तु सुप्रतिः सार्धं देवैरुपस्थितः ।  
 तव तावद्दशग्रीव प्रीतोऽस्मीत्यभ्यभाषत ॥  
 शीघ्रं वरय धर्मज्ञ वरो यस्तेऽभिकाङ्क्षितः ।  
 कं ते कामं करोम्यय न वृथा ते परिश्रमः ॥  
 अथाब्रवीद्दशग्रीवः प्रहृष्टेनान्तरात्मना ।  
 प्रणम्य शिरसा देवं हर्षगद्गदया गिरा ॥  
 भगवन्प्राणिनां नित्यं..... ।  
 .....अमरत्वमहं वृणे ॥  
 एवमुक्तस्तदा ब्रह्मा दशग्रीवमुवाच ह ।  
 नास्ति सर्वामरत्वं ते वरमन्यं वृणीष्व मे ॥  
 एवमुक्ते तदा राम ब्रह्मणा लोककर्तृणा ।  
 दशग्रीव उवाचेदं कृताञ्जलि रथाग्रतः ॥  
 सुपर्णनागयक्षाणां दैत्यदानवरक्षसाम् ।  
 अवध्योऽहं प्रजाध्यक्ष देवतानां च शाश्वत ॥  
 न हि चिन्तामसान्येषु प्राणिष्वमरपूजित ।  
 तृणभूता हि ते मन्ये प्राणिनो मानुषादयः ॥  
 एवमुक्तस्तु धर्मात्मा दशग्रीवेण रक्षसा ।  
 उवाच वचनं देवः सह देवैः पितामहः ॥  
 भविष्यत्येवमेतत्ते वचो राक्षसपुंगव ।  
 एवमुक्त्वा तु तं राम दशग्रीवं पितामहः ॥  
 शृणु चापि वरो भूयः प्रीतस्येह शुभो मम ।  
 हुतानि यानि शीर्षाणि पूर्वमग्नौ त्वयानघ ॥  
 पुनस्तानि भविष्यन्ति तथैव तव राक्षस ।  
 धितरामहि ते सौम्य वरं चान्यं दुरासदम् ॥  
 छन्दतस्तव रूपं च मनसा ययथेप्सितम् ।  
 एवं पितामहोक्तं च दशग्रीवस्य रक्षसः ॥  
 अग्नौ हुतानि शीर्षाणि पुनस्तान्युत्थितानि वै ।

Now there are certain legitimate questions that will naturally occur to a psychologist. Why should Ravana think of cutting off and throwing his heads into the fire? Even then why should Brahmā wait till all the nine heads have gone and appear before him only when he was about to cut off the tenth? Why did not Brahmā appear when one or two or three were gone or when all the ten were gone? It becomes absolutely clear that Ravana was here actually hating his nine extra heads and was violently longing to be a normal person with the normal one head. It is a phantasy of the extreme form arranged by the unconscious. We can be sure that Ravana would not have liked Brahmā to appear when any number of heads less than nine had been sacrificed, nor would he have his tenth cut off, for in that case he would be non-existent. So we see a plan with a definite end in this apparently unreasonable act of his. But the sequel of all phantasy, a mechanism devised by the unconscious of escape 'from the real world with its burdens, difficulties and sorrows into a mental world of triumph and victory,' is the inevitable awakening or return to the hard reality of the existing conditions. Nature is inexorable. Poor fellow! He has to keep his nine extra heads, there is no getting rid of them. Brahmā unasked returns them to him.

What then is the remedy? The unconscious is not to be defeated. It knows certain tricks. Disguise the defects! So Brahmā grants him another boon, the power to assume any form he wished. Probably, by hard practice, Ravana became a master of disguise and got the power to bend or fold the unwanted heads into a position where they would not be seen or to camouflage them in some other way. It is well known that members of the fair sex are accustomed to practise certain "dear deceits" in order to hide any small defects that threaten to diminish their charm. I am reminded of a lady passenger in a train when I was once travelling. She was young and pretty-looking. She had her hair parted in the middle of the head as usual, but the hair on one side was allowed to hang loosely, while on the other side it was done up in the usual way. I thought it was her fashionable way of doing it, but the secret was out before long. The external ear on one side was crumpled and small and she

was only hiding it with her loose tresses. Watch any person who has six fingers on his hand or only four, you find him anxious to hide the defect.

The poet has brought out all these facts in a very logical manner. He said that Rāvaṇa went to do penance with anger, and anger leads to साहसं or recklessness, so we find him cutting off his heads (in fact or in phantasy). But he cannot get rid of them. So Brahmā is represented as giving back his heads, as an unasked boon. Then as though seeing the effect of such a boon and as though by way of palliation or consolation, another, a difficult one, namely disguise and subtlety, वितरामीह ते सौम्य वरं चान्यं दुरासदम् । The poet is leading us step by step revealing the sequence of the mental processes, as they must have taken place. Brahmā even addresses Rāvaṇa as *Saumya*, as though intending to suggest that the latter was humbled or dejected by the return of the unwanted heads and was being treated with sympathy and affection by the Father of the Universe.

It is also extremely interesting to find a sustained rationalization running throughout this episode. Rationalization is "the production by the mind of 'reasons' to explain conduct or belief which have no relation to actual psychical causes of the conduct or belief in question. Some reason is given for the acts which has nothing to do with their true cause, but which is intended to satisfy the mind or some outside enquirer, that the acts are justified." Nothing which lowers the self-esteem of the individual, or will not be admissible as ethical or respectable conduct will be openly accepted by the mind. It will therefore invent a reason or a suitable occasion for the performance of acts, prompted by unconscious complexes. We know that Rāvaṇa felt distinctly inferior on account of his physical peculiarities, but if he had simply attempted to cut away his unwanted heads, he would be openly admitting the feeling of inferiority which his Ego would never permit. In the then society, however, the performance of severe penance and mortification of the flesh were considered respectable and praiseworthy. If therefore he chose that occasion, and offered the unwanted heads as an act of self-mortification or sacrifice to the deity, his action would be invested with a considerable amount of dignity or

glory. It is not then surprising that Rāvaṇa did so and saved his self-esteem. The heads, however, could not be got rid of. Here again, if, instead of admitting discomfiture, it is represented that he received them back as a gift from Pitāmaha, pleased with the severity and steadfastness of his penance, the retention of the extra heads would have a satisfactory explanation. Now then, the necessity for camouflaging his deformity comes in. Even for an ordinary person, to go about in disguise for no valid, justifiable reason would be suspicious, and in Rāvaṇa's case, it would be plainly seen as an attempt to hide his awkwardness, but if he receives the power for successful masquerading as a reward or boon from the Creator, the using of such power would be at least as natural as enjoying inherited wealth. Here again the narcissistic complex of the neurotic is satisfied by rationalization.

We have already seen that fear of death was one of the causes of inferiority in Rāvaṇa and that his first attempt was to get over it, but when he asked for exemption from death at the hands of certain beings, he specially excluded man and such-like beings. He said that he cared a straw for them. What does this signify? If we remember that unwarranted emphasis on any point means the vital spot is there, it is plain that he was mortally afraid of man and that in order to cover up his inferiority, to satisfy the craving for superiority, he wanted to be able to deal with that source of danger on his own. Since he is of the aggressive, impetuous type, after the nature of the mother who influenced his early life, he particularly made man his enemy. It is not clear why man should be his particular object of dread, unless it be that during his childhood, his playmates might have been the mānuṣa children for whom he might have been the sole butt of ridicule and contempt owing to his deformities, and against whom he might have picked up a special hatred.

His penance having thus ended in a fiasco, or at the best only in pseudo-success, let us turn to his subsequent life. He comes under the influence of Sumāli, who, hearing that Rāvaṇa has returned after securing boons and believing that his eugenical experiment has borne fruit, makes bold to quit Rasātala along with his advisers. He comes to see Rāvaṇa and embraces him



and says, " Luckily, my dear child, the wished for object has been attained. Since you have got the excellent boon from the Lord of the three worlds, the fear of Viṣṇu owing to which we had to evacuate Laṅkā and go to Rasātala, is now gone. That Laṅkā which was in the occupation of the Rākṣasas is ours. It is now in the possession of your brother, Dhaneśvara. You must, oh, powerful one, get it back by peaceful means, if possible, or by force. You will, dear one, undoubtedly become the Lord of Laṅkā. By you this Rākṣasa race, though now depressed, will become exalted." These words of Sumāli certainly bear out that his sole object was to improve the Rākṣasa stock by introducing the superior strain and then to attempt to restore the lost glory of the Rākṣasas. And the words of Viśravas मम शापाच्च प्रकृतिं दारुणां गतः show that he knew that object and wilfully tried to frustrate it by his curse when Kaikaśī first approached him. Rāvaṇa at first refuses to listen to Sumāli and shows some regard to his elder brother, but the moment his fear complex is touched by Prahasta, he readily reacts in the direction required by the Rākṣasas. Prahasta tells him that the relationship of brothers is not for the brave, insinuating thereby that Rāvaṇa was evading the step owing to want of courage. Then the story continues that he sent a messenger to Vaiśravaṇa asking for the transfer of Laṅkā to him and that Vaiśravaṇa, on the advice of his father, gave it to Rāvaṇa and repaired to Kailāsa for residence, Rāvaṇa occupying immediately Laṅkā with all the Rākṣasa hosts and being crowned as their king.

This was not enough for his nature. Very soon the guiding fiction of excelling his brother began to impel him. First he picked a quarrel with his brother Vaiśravaṇa and defeated him and captured his aerial car Puṣpaka, and wherever he went he used to travel in that. To excel his brother became the pattern of his actions. Whomsoever he heard to be more powerful than he, him he used to approach and challenge for war. In this way he subjugated the whole creation. To fight and conquer whoever was superior to him became his obsession, and it was symbolical of becoming greater than his brother.

राक्षसं वा मनुष्यं वा वृणुते यं बलाधिकम् ।

रावणस्तं समासाद्य युद्धे ह्वयति दर्पितः ॥

*Ibid.* ch. 34, Ver. 2

To such he would go and say " Acknowledge defeat, my superiority, or else come out for a fight." <sup>1</sup>

Another of his obsessions was to capture and molest other persons' wives. This seems to be capable of two explanations. Either he was carrying out the same symbolic act of rivalling his brother, by trying to get the better of the husbands of these women, who may be considered to be substitutes for countries or regions. For instance, he meets a woman named Vedavati in the forests of the Himālayas. She is engaged in *Tapasyā*. Learning from her that she has fixed her affections on Viṣṇu as her husband, Rāvaṇa says: " Who is this whom you call Viṣṇu? He is not equal to me in any respect. "

कश्च तावदसौ यं त्वं विष्णुरित्यभिभाषसे ।

वीर्येण तपसा चैव भोगेन च बलेन च ।

स मया नो समो भद्रे यं त्वं कामयसेऽङ्गने ॥

chap. 17, Ver. 23

Or since he was an ugly person, he was having an overcompensation in sex, by trying to prove that he was better deserving of them than their husbands did, probably instances of his bear love, in keeping with his aggressive sadistic nature, as opposed to artful seduction. Beautiful women must beware of ugly men, and handsome men of ugly women. Ugly men can be pastmasters in the art of seduction, witness Richard III making love to Lady Anne while she was following her husband's father, the king's hearse and winning her 'in spite of his being her husband's murderer' and Alexander Pope's influence on women and his many amours. Likewise plain women may be experts in the art of love. I am irresistibly reminded here of the 'black' in the Malabar Kathakali, in which the character of a black, ugly lady, for instance *Śūrpaṇakhā*, *Simhikā* or *Hidimbā*, is represented as at her elaborate toilet lasting for half-an-hour or more. The artiste gives you such a treat in psychological study, such shades of *Vibhramas*, that you forget her ugliness altogether, and feel yourselves in danger of falling for her. Rāvaṇa knew no

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rāvaṇa's conversation with King Marutta. Note the former's boast that he has defeated his brother and captured the aerial car and Marutta's ironical reply. Chap. 18, Ver. 7-11.

subtleties but only violence in the art of love, and naturally his escapades ended in fiasco or crimes.

We thus see Rāvaṇa's character to be the result of forces beyond his control. He was the unfortunate victim of cruel circumstances, a neurotic suffering from a bad inferiority complex, but the world was entitled to be protected from his antisocial activities. As he was a most powerful individual, only his removal would save the world. An equally powerful individual, one who was comparatively free from complexes and who was poised in his life, came in the person of Śrī Rāmacandra and accomplished the task. But Rāvaṇa was given *mōkṣa*, it is said. If we realise that Rāvaṇa was the subject of unconscious drives, where is the room for any vindictiveness and punishment? But such an objective view could not be taken by the suffering world. Only God could take it. And Rāmacandra showed nothing but *karuṇā* at every step, and when Rāvaṇa was freed from his complexes at the end, he may be said to have found his soul, liberation.

These national epics of ours are great repositories of the wisdom and experience of our ancestors and they carry their useful lessons to us for our guidance. Poets are artists, endowed with rare psychological insight and it is incumbent on us to search for and discover what truth they have to present to us through the medium of their art. After all, the man or woman absolutely normal in his or her personal traits has only a hypothetical existence. Every one of us deviates from the normal in several and in different respects, but an abnormality is not undesirable simply because it is such. Indeed if we did not feel a sense of inadequacy or shortcoming, there would be no striving for higher attainments. What is important to realise is that society cannot afford to tolerate deviations from the normal beyond certain limits, nor can it countenance activities calculated to impede or set back its evolution. When an individual oversteps the limits or acts against its progress, he becomes an outcast. Modern psychology shows us the way how desirable and helpful adjustments can be made and the interests of the individual as well as the society promoted. Rāvaṇa was an individual who deviated strongly from the normal and who could not adjust himself to

his environment, and from a study of his life, the following lessons appear to be suggested to us.

1 Beware of rash experiments in eugenics, especially where members of races of very incompatible temperaments and culture are concerned. In Rāvaṇa, the first child having the disadvantages of an only child, the Rākṣasaic forces gained the upper hand. With time Kaikaśī must have become more adjusted to her husband, and in Kumbhakarna, who was only the second child, the two opposing tendencies seem to have reached a stalemate and his tendency to sleep away his life appears like the general paralysis of the insane.<sup>1</sup> The slip of the tongue स्वप्नुं वर्षाण्यनेकानि देवदेव ममेप्सितं which was responsible for such a boon from Brahmā is extremely significant from a psychological point of view. It is nothing but a trick of the unconscious. Freud's "*Psychopathology of Everyday Life*" contains numerous examples of slips and mistakes of various kinds and their interpretations. In Vibhīṣaṇa, the *Daivic* tendencies at last gained the ascendancy. Kaikaśī must have by now become completely adjusted to her husband, Vibhīṣaṇa was not an only child or the first child and therefore must have had opportunities for being normal. And the prediction of Viśravaśa that the last son would be a *Dharmātmā* must also have indirectly influenced both the parents in their attitude towards that child.

2 A pregnant woman should be helped to maintain her emotional balance. It is the duty of the husband and the other relatives concerned to keep her in a happy frame of mind and in good health, so that no untoward influences, physical or psychical, may affect the growing life within her.

3 Parents and teachers have a great responsibility. Children, especially sensitive ones and those with physical defects or weak-

<sup>1</sup> It may be asked how Kumbhakarna, in that case, could rise up and offer battle. I may cite here the case of a young man referred to me for opinion some years ago. He used to lie in an easy chair in an absolutely helpless condition all day until lifted and put to bed in the night. Only his eyelids showed some movement. And yet on occasions, he was capable of coordinated purposive actions. Two instances were cited to me. Once when he found the main door of the house ajar late in the night, he rose up and closed and secured it and sank into his condition immediately. On another occasion, from where he lay, he saw that the calf, breaking loose, was feeding at its mother. He went and pulled the calf back and tied it up and collapsed into a helpless mass again.

ness should be treated with sympathy and understanding. The child having such defects must be taught to compensate for them in the proper way. The safest way is to come to terms with the defects and to develop special capacities on those lines where the defects will not have a chance of being felt, so that in his own eyes and in the eyes of the community, the special abilities will give him "a worth and a value that more than outweigh his physical disability." In some cases it is even possible to turn the defect into an advantage for one-self and one's fellows. In his *"Think and Grow Rich,"* Napoleon Hill, the author, tells us how his son was born without any physical sign of ears, without the natural equipment of hearing, and how, instead of in despair leaving the child to become a deaf-mute for life, he, by wise determination and effort and guidance, enabled the child to convert the disability into something immensely useful to himself and to thousands of "deafened people who, without his help, would have been doomed forever to deaf mutism." The book is worth perusal for this one instance of marvellous achievement alone, if for nothing else. It is an example of parental wisdom rarely to be met with. Rāvaṇa's life represents what the world has to face, if a child with organic and other defects is not taken in hand with love and properly guided.

In these pages I have only tried to indicate that some of our puranic and other characters are worth being studied in a new light, and if more competent persons are led thereby to undertake more elaborate and more exhaustive interpretations, I shall consider myself richly rewarded.

# विश्वेश्वरस्मृतिः

प्राक्कथनम्

BY

Vishveshavarvath Rea

मानवीयमेतद्धर्मशास्त्रं पुरा पुरातनत्वेन स्यान्नाम सर्वमान्यम् ? किंतु बली-  
यसा कालेनाऽवस्थाविपर्यासे संजनितेऽधुना तु परित्यक्तसांसारिकप्रपञ्चानां महा-  
त्मनामपि पूर्णतया तदनुसरणं दुष्करं समजनि, किं पुनर्निजजीविकोपार्जनचिन्ता-  
क्रान्तस्वान्तानामश्रान्तं श्रान्तानां कुक्षिम्भरीणां कथया ?

अपि च न केवलं नानासुनिनामभिः प्रथितेषु स्मृतिनिबन्धेष्वेव मत-  
भेदो लक्ष्यते, किंतु एकस्यामपि स्मृतावनेकव्यक्तिनिर्मितायामिव प्रायः पूर्वापर-  
विरोधीनि विधिवचनान्युपलभ्यन्ते । एवमेव स्मृतिषु यत्र-तत्र प्रचलिताचारविरु-  
द्धानि वाक्यान्यपि दृश्यन्ते । तथा हि—

मनुस्मृतौ न केवलं विधवाविवाहस्यैव अपि तु तत्रत्यप्रसङ्गेन वाग्दत्तायाः  
कन्याया अपि भाविभर्तृमरणेऽन्यभर्त्रा सह विवाहस्य निषेधः, पाराशरस्मृतौ तु  
पञ्चस्वापत्सु पत्यन्तरविधानस्य निर्देशः । इत्थं स्मृतिद्वयेपि पारस्परिको मताविरोधः  
परिलक्ष्यते ।

मानवसंहितायां सूतक एकत्र ज्ञानमात्रेणाऽपरत्र पुनर्दशाहेनं पितुः शुद्धि-  
र्निर्दिष्टेति परस्परं वदतो व्याघातः ।

तस्यामेव च परस्पराविरोधिभ्यां मांसाशनविधिनिषेधाभ्यामनुमीयते यद्यथा-  
कालं तत्र-तत्र विद्वद्भिर्यथेच्छं प्रक्षिप्तानि स्वीयानि मतानि ।

पुनर्मन्वादिधर्मशास्त्रेषु क्षेत्रजस्याऽपि दायभागार्हेषु पुत्रेषु परिगणनं, नियो-  
गस्य च निर्देशः श्राद्धे च सद्ब्राह्मणाऽभावे मातामहस्य, मातुलस्य, श्वशुरस्य च  
भोजनविधानं प्रायः प्रचलिताचारविरुद्धम् ।

( तथा च यद्वाक्षिणाट्येषु मातृसपिण्डाया मातुलकन्यायाः पाणिग्रहणमनु-  
मतं तदप्युपलभ्यमानासु स्मृतिषु नोपलभ्यते । )

( १ ) अध्यायः ९, श्लोकः ७१ ( २ ) अध्यायः ४, श्लोकः ३० ( ३ ) अध्यायः  
५, श्लोकः ६२ ( ४ ) अध्यायः ५, श्लोकाः ६१, ७७, ७९ ( ५ ) अध्यायः ३,  
श्लोकाः १२३, २६८-२७२, अथ च अध्यायः ५, श्लोकाः १६, १८, २२, २३, २७, ३०-  
३२, ३५, ३६ ( ६ ) अध्यायः ५ श्लोकाः ४५-५५ ( ७ ) अध्यायः ९ श्लोकः १४५  
( ८ ) अध्यायः ९, श्लोकौ ५९, ६०. ( ९ ) अध्यायः ३, श्लोकः १४८.

मानवीये प्रथमाध्याये एकत्र—

“स्वायम्भुवो मनुर्धर्मानिदं शास्त्रमकल्पयत् ॥ १०२ ॥”

अपरत्र च—

एतद्वोऽयं भृगुः शास्त्रं श्रावयिष्यत्यशेषतः ॥ ५९ ॥

इत्युपलभ्यमानाभ्यां वचनाभ्यां ज्ञायते यत्, प्रथमेन स्वायम्भुवेन मनुना या धर्मसंहिता प्रणीता सैव तदाज्ञया तदात्मजेन भृगुणा मनुस्मृतिरिति नाम्ना महर्षिभ्यः श्राविता ।

पुनश्च मनुस्मृतौ प्रथमाध्याये मनोर्वचनम्—

“पतीन्प्रजानामसृजं महर्षीनादितो दश ॥ ३४ ॥”

...

...

...

“एते मनुस्तु सप्तान्यानसृजन् भूरितेजसः ॥ ३६ ॥”

तस्मिन्नेवाध्याये पुनर्भृगोरुक्तिः—

“स्वायम्भुवस्यास्य मनोः षड्वंश्या मनवोऽपरे ॥ ६१ ॥”

...

...

...

“स्वायम्भुवायाः सप्तैते मनवो भूरितेजसः ।

स्वे स्वेऽन्तरे सर्वमिदमुत्पायाऽपुश्चराचरम् ॥ ६३ ॥”

प्रथमाध्यायोद्धृतेष्वेतेष्ववतरणेषु मनुक्त्या ज्ञायते यत्, स्वायम्भुवो मनुर्दश प्रजापतीन्सृजत्, तेऽपि कालेऽन्यान्सप्त मनुनुदपादयत् । किंतु भृगूक्त्या स्वायम्भुवमनुसंहितानां सप्तानामेव मनूनामुत्पत्तिः सूच्यत इत्यत्रापि पारस्परिको वचनविरोधः ।

प्रथमाध्यायोद्धृतेरुपरितनैः श्लोकैरन्तिमपद्य (६३)वार्तिना ‘अपुः’ इति ‘पा रक्षणे’ इत्यस्य धातोरनयतनभूतकालिकप्रयोगेण चावगम्यते यदेषा मनुस्मृतिः केनापि भृगुनाम्ना पण्डितेनेदानींतनस्य सप्तमस्य वैवस्वतमनोर्मन्वन्तर एव रचिता, न तु प्रथमस्य स्वायम्भुवस्य मन्वन्तर इति ।

अथ चास्यां चतुर्दशसु मनुषु पूर्वेषां सप्तानामेव नामोल्लेखस्योपलम्भादप्युपरिनिर्दिष्टस्यैव मतस्य पुष्टिर्भवति ।

अपरं च तस्या एव दशमाध्याये निम्नोद्धृती श्लोकावुपलभ्येते—

“शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।

वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणाऽदर्शनेन च ॥ ४३ ॥

पीण्डकाश्चोद्भद्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।

पारदाः पल्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥ ४४ ॥”

आभ्यां श्लोकाभ्यां पीण्डक-चोद्भ-द्रविड-काम्बोज-यवन-शक-पारद-पल्लव

चीन-किरात-दरद-खशानां भारतागमनप्रसङ्गानन्तरमस्याः स्मृत्या रचना संजा-  
तेति प्रतीयते, एवं चास्या रचना विक्रमाब्दप्रारम्भासक्तं संजातैत्यप्यनुमीयते ।

अथ च तस्या एव, दशमाध्याये निम्नोद्धृतं पद्यमप्युपलभ्यते—

“ ब्रात्यान् जायते विप्रात् पापात्मा भूर्जकण्टकः ।

आवन्त्यवाटधानौ च पुष्पधः शैख एव च ॥ २१ ॥ ”

एतस्मिन् पद्ये मुहम्मदीयेषु जातिविशेषसूचकमाप्तार्थवाचकं च ‘ शैख ’  
इति पदं ‘ शैख ’ इति संस्कृत्यैतत्संज्ञकस्य ब्रात्यब्राह्मणोत्पन्नत्वमुल्लिखितम्  
अनेन चानुमीयते, यदस्यां मुहम्मदीयानां सिन्धुसैराष्ट्रविजयान्तं विक्रमाब्दस्या-  
ष्टमशताब्दयन्तं वा विद्वद्भिः प्रक्षिप्तानि स्वानि मतानि ।

अपि च, भाषायाः परिष्कृतिः सौष्ठवमपि चास्या अनतिप्राचीनतामेव  
योतयतः । स्मृत्यन्तरेष्वपि प्रसङ्गादेतदूह्यम् ।

अन्यच्च स्मृतिषु यत्र यत्र यं कमपि हेतुमुद्दिश्य कस्याऽपि कर्मणो विधि-  
निषेधौ निर्दिष्टौ तत्र तत्र तद्धेतोरुल्लेखाऽभावात् तदुद्देशज्ञानेऽसमर्था जना अनुप-  
योगिनं मार्गमवलम्ब्य तद्वास्तविकफलतो वञ्चिता भवन्ति निरर्थकं च क्लिश्यन्ति ।

यथा मनुक्तस्य “ वत्सतन्त्रीं न लङ्घयेत् ” इत्यस्य वचनस्य पतनभयात्मकं  
तात्पर्यमविदित्वैव बहुधा वृद्धा वत्सतन्त्रीलङ्घिनो वराकान् बालान् हेमन्तेऽपि  
स्नपनेन क्लेशयन्तस्तद्दोषनिरसनं भावयन्ति ।

इत्येतैरन्यैरपि च विषमसमयोपस्थापितैरनेकैः कारणैर्न केवलं लोकेषु  
स्मृत्युक्तधर्मपालनेऽरुचिरेवावर्धत, किंतु पाश्चात्यशिक्षासंस्कारदीक्षितानां  
जनानां तु तद्विषयिण्यश्रद्धापि संजाता । इत्थं “ सर्वनाशे समुत्पन्ने अर्थं त्यजति  
पण्डितः ” इति न्यायेनोपलभ्यमानं मानवधर्मशास्त्रमाश्रित्य युगानुरूपपरिष्करण-  
पुरस्सरं नव्येयं ‘ विश्वेश्वरस्मृति ’ रुपह्रियते विचारशीलानां श्रद्धेयानां विदुषां  
विचारविनोदाय । कालक्रमागतानामनेकासां स्मृतीनामधिगमाच्च ज्ञायते, यत्  
पूर्वाचार्यैरपि धर्मरक्षार्थं युगानुसारिणी धर्मव्याख्यासरणिरङ्गीकृतासीत् । तामेवा-  
नुसृत्य ममाप्येष नाममात्रः प्रयासः । अस्य निबन्धस्य च ‘ विश्वेश्वरस्मृति ’ नाम-  
करणं तु निर्वञ्चनमर्वाचीनतां प्रदर्शयितुमेव ।

सहृदयेः समयज्ञैर्विज्ञैर्यत्किञ्चिदप्यत्रत्यं न्यूनमधिकं वावश्यकं सूचयिष्यते  
तत् सादरं सप्रमोदं चाङ्गीकरिष्यते ।

प्राथर्यते च—

“ पुरातनं मानवधर्ममेव सम्यक्परिष्कृत्य युगानुरूपम् ।

विश्वेश्वरेणात्र कृते प्रयत्नेऽत्यावश्यको विज्ञमुदाष्टिपातः ॥



## AMBIVLE CAVE INSCRIPTIONS

BY

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT

The following five inscriptions are inscribed on the pillars in the veranda of the Vihāra Cave at Ambivle, 18 miles S. E. of Karjat, a Railway Station on the Bombay-Poona line of the G. I. P. Railway. These have been known for a very long time and have been noticed in all the accounts of this Cave.<sup>1</sup> Two of these are included in Dr. Lüder's List of Brahmi Inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> but neither of them seem to have been published yet nor read previously. These are therefore published here for the first time, with the kind permission of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, from the accompanying fascimiles.<sup>3</sup>

*Inscription A.* (Lüder's No. 1069).

This is inscribed on the first pillar to the left in the veranda. It is carved in distinct and well cut characters of about the II-III century A. D. It clearly reads

यमप्रमाथ चपकप्रमाथ

but no sense can be made out from it.

*Inscription B.*

This is inscribed on the same pillar as above and in continuation of A. It is now completely defaced but the characters show that it is slightly earlier than the previous inscription. The probable reading seems to be,

चेत्यवेण प ? र ? य कहा (पण ?)

but no sense can be made out of it.

*Inscription C.* (Lüder's List. No. 1070).

This is inscribed on the second pillar to the left near the entrance of the Cave, and on the inner face of it. It reads vertically downwards but no sense can be made out from it as the letters are indistinctly carved. Just above this, there is another

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, *A. S. W. I.*; IV, p. 10; *Bombay Gazetteer* (Thana); XIV, p. 9. Burgess and Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains*, p. 208, *A. S. W. I.*; X, 66.

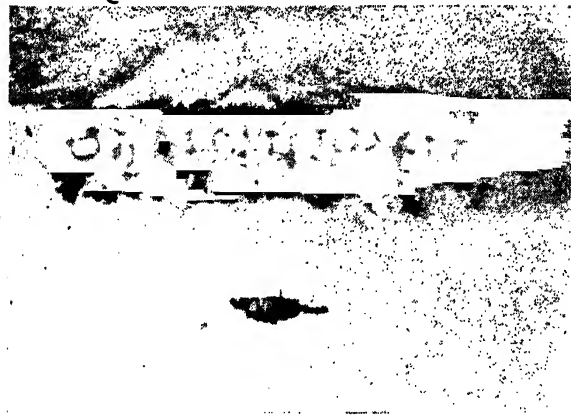
<sup>2</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, Appendix, Nos. 1069 and 1070.

<sup>3</sup> The photographs of these, were kindly taken by Mr. L. B. Keny, who accompanied me to the Cave.

# AMBIVLE CAVE INSCRIPTIONS



Inscription A. Liders No. 1653.



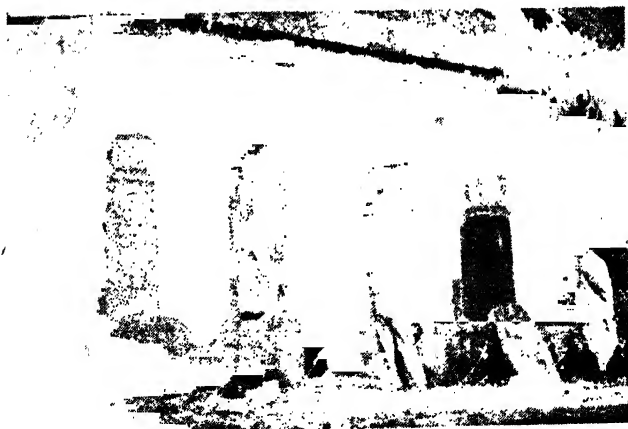
Inscription B.



Inscription C. Liders No. 1070.



Inscriptions D & E.



The Vihāra at Ambivle, near Karjat.

short inscription. It reads

जीविशिव

which is probably the name of some devotee who inhabited the cave.

*Inscriptions D and E.*

These inscriptions are written side by side on the outer face of the third pillar, to the right of the entrance of the veranda. They are only indistinctly seen as the pillar is exposed to weather. The characters are of about the latter half of the 3rd century A. D. These read

दुष्यशिव and ग्रि (त्रि?) दुशिव

and are probably the names of some devotees.

These names ending in Śiva are interesting because they partly substantiate Dr. Bhandarkar's remarks <sup>1</sup> that the religion of the early converts to Buddhism was Śaivite. This is indicated by several other names occurring in many Buddhist Cave inscriptions, <sup>2</sup> which begin with or end in Śiva. Incidentally it may be noted that similar inscriptions have also been found in the Śilāhara Cave. <sup>3</sup> (Rewah State, Central India ).

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar D. R., *Indian Antiquary*, XLVIII, ( 1919 ) p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Lüders* Nos. 1037, 1045, 1051, 1070, 1076, 1077 etc.

<sup>3</sup> Śilāhara Cave Inscriptions. Epi. Ind., XXII, p. 30. Annual Report, Arch. Sur. Ind. 1927-28 ; p. 136ff.

10 [ *Annals*, B. O. R. I. ]

## WHEN AND WHERE WAS FERISHTA BORN?

BY

SHAIKH CHĀND HUSAIN

It is a great pity that Ferishta has not left any specific account of himself, probably owing to his modesty, as Colonel Briggs<sup>1</sup> supposes. There is, nevertheless, sufficient information accessible to us in the observations which he occasionally makes about himself in his *History*. From such observations Colonel Briggs has been able to give rather an extensive account of the historian although at times we do not agree with him in his inferences. The more important of his inferences are those that concern Ferishta's birth.

Colonel Briggs states that Ferishta was born at Astrābād, and that, when he was merely a boy of twelve, his father Ghulām 'Alī Hindū Shāh brought him to Aḥmadnagar about the year A. D. 1582. As far as I can make out, there is nothing in the work of the historian which will explicitly prove that he was actually born at Astrābād. Probably Colonel Briggs was led to this inference from the following passage which occurs in the introduction to his valuable *History*.<sup>2</sup>

” (اما بعد کمینہ درگاہ محمد قاسم هندو شاہ استر آبادی المشہور  
بفرشتہ، بر شناسایان فروغ بخش انجمن ہستی کم ضمیر انور شان معیار نقود  
الفاظ و معانی هست، عرض می دارد کہ در علقوان جوانی پبلدہ فیض اثر  
احمد نگر گاہ گاہی سروش آسمانی بگوش هوش این کمترین افراد انسانی  
می رسید الخ“

Translation--

To proceed. This humble servant of the court, Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Astrābādī, known as Ferishta, begs to state to the learned that during the prime of his youth in the city of Aḥmadnagar, he received inspiration, off and on .. ”

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 2, 1850, p. 341; Briggs' introduction to *Ferishta's History*, Vol. 1, p. 1,

<sup>2</sup> *Ferishta, History*, Introduction (Newalkishor edition), p. 3.

From the above passage it is clear that Ferishta only calls himself an Astrābādī, but he does not say that he was actually born at Astrābād. The statement, at most, might mean that his fore-fathers or, at most, his immediate parents hailed from that city. Instances of people attaching the names of their ancestral countries to their own can be easily cited, but these do not mean and are not intended or even calculated to mean, the places of their actual birth. Thus Ferishta's calling himself an Astrābādī might show his original ancestral country. I will attempt to show later on that Ferishta, if his own statements are to be believed, could not have been born at Astrābād.

The other statement of Briggs that Ferishta was brought to Aḥmadnagar at the age of twelve is also supported by no authority whatsoever. If it is from the phrase در عنقران جوانی بولدۀ فیض انور احمد نگر contained in the passage quoted above that Colonel Briggs drew the above inference, he is certainly mistaken, for, the phrase only means that, while Ferishta dwelt at Aḥmadnagar, he was inspired, during the prime of his youth, to write a *History of India*, but that as materials were not forthcoming at Aḥmadnagar, he could not undertake the work.

From one of Ferishta's own statements<sup>1</sup> it is certain that the prince Mirān Husain, who in A. H. 996/ A. D. 1587 succeeded to the throne of Aḥmadnagar, after bringing about the death of his own father, King Murtadā Nizām Shāh I (1565-1587), was educated, along with young Ferishta, who was presumably of the same age as the prince. In A. H. 996/ A. D. 1587 Mirān Husain was sixteen years old.<sup>2</sup> It would, therefore, be safe to agree with Colonel Briggs, as against Muhl,<sup>3</sup> in placing the birth of Ferishta at A. H. 980/A. D. 1570-71.

The following famous *chronogram*, which records the simultaneous deaths of three kings of India, has been claimed by Ferishta<sup>4</sup> as the composition of his own father Ghulām 'Alī Hindū Shāh:—

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, p. 238 (Bombay edition).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal des Savants*, 1840, 212 et. seq., 354 et. seq., 392 et. seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*, ii, p. 235; Tabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, p. 356. It may be pointed out that Tabāṭabā only says that it was composed by یکی از فضلا

سر خسرو را زوال آمد بیکبار      کم هند از عدل شان دارالامان بود  
 یکی محمود شاهنشاه کجرات      کم همچون دولت خود نوجوان بود  
 دویم اسلم شاه سلطان دهلی      کم در هندوستان صاحب قران بود  
 سیم آمد نظام آن شاه بحری      کم در ملک دکن خسرو نشان بود  
 زمن تاریخ فوت این سر خسرو  
 چر می پرسى ؟ "زوال خسروان" بود

Translation :—

Death came simultaneously to three kings

On account of whose justice India was the abode of security ;

First, Mahmūd<sup>1</sup> the Emperor of Gujarāt,

Who was as young as his fortune ,

Secondly, Islīm Shāh,<sup>2</sup> the Sultān of Delhī,

Who was the lord of felicity in Hindūstān ;

Thirdly, the Nizām,<sup>3</sup> the Bahrl king,

Who was the possessor of royal insignia in the country of the Deccan.

Why do you ask me the date of the death of these three kings ?  
It was the *Fall of the kings*.

The words "Zawāl-i-Khusrawān" give A. H. 961/A. D. 1553 as the date of this incident.

If Ferishta is correct in his statement about the authorship of this chronogram, and there is no reason why he should not be, it means that his father should have been at Aḥmadnagar about the year A. H. 961/A. D. 1553 in order to be able to compose this chronogram. And since there is nothing to show that he returned after the above date to his native country Astrābād, we should be perfectly justified in assuming that Ghulām 'Alī was at Aḥmadnagar, not only in A. H. 980/A. D. 1570-71, when Ferishta was born, but also that he remained there until his death, which occurred at Aḥmadnagar. This would mean that Ferishta was born most probably at Aḥmadnagar.

<sup>1</sup> Mahmūd III ( A. D. 1537-1553 ).

<sup>2</sup> Most probably the proper reading is Islām Shāh ( A. D. 1545-1553 ) of the Sūr Dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> Burhān Nizām Shāh I ( A. D. 1509-1553 ) of Aḥmadnagar.

Briefly stated the entire matter would come to this that Ferishta originally belonged to Astrābād, but that his father came to Aḥmadnagar about the year A. H. 961/A. D. 1553, and that at the last mentioned place was born the famous historian about the year A. H. 980/A. D. 1570-71.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the author of the *Maḥbūbū'l-Waṭan Ta'riḫ-i-Salāṭin-i-Dakan* calls Ferishta "دکنی المولد و المنشأ" (i. e. born and brought up in the Deccan)

Students of the History of Aḥmadnagar no doubt remember that Burhān Nizām Shāh I (A. D. 1509-1553) established Shi'ism as the state religion in A. D. 1537.<sup>1</sup> At that time he also built a college for the teaching and the spread of that religion at Aḥmadnagar, and named it the *Langar-i-Duwāzda Imām*. For employment in this college a number of eminent 'Ulamā were invited from Irān, 'Irāq, and Arabia. Was Ghulām 'Alī Hindū Shāh one of these 'Ulamā?<sup>2</sup>

The above suggestion I have ventured to put forth, notwithstanding the fact that it needs more tangible proof than what I can give at present. The following details, which I give from local topography as well as from private documents, may throw a great deal of light on the life of Ferishta and of his illustrious father.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i (lith. Hyderābād, Deccan), p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishta, *loc. cit.* (Bombay Edition), ii, p. 25; *Burhān-i-Ma'ūthir*, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> Among the prominent men of learning that were invited to Aḥmadnagar, Ferishta (*loc. cit.*, ii, p. 226) and those who follow him mention the following—

(i) Shāh Anjū, who was brought to Aḥmadnagar at the cost of 12,000 Hons,

(ii) Shāh Ja'far, the brother of Shāh Tāhir,

(iii) Mullā Shāh Muḥammad Nishāpūrī,

(iv) Mullā 'Alī Gul Astrābādī,

(v) Mullā 'Alī Māzandarānī,

(vi) Ayyūb Abū-l-Barakah,

(vii) Mullā 'Azīz' llāh Gīlānī.

(viii) Mullā Muḥammad Imāmī Astrābādī, and others.

It might be pointed out that the author of the *Maḥbūbū'l-Waṭan Ta'riḫ-i-Salāṭin-i-Dakan* (Vol. i p. 95) calls Ferishta's father "Ghulām 'Alī Māzandarānī." If he is correct, can we consider him to be the same as "Mullā 'Alī Māzandarānī," No. (v) in the above list?



The south-west part of the city of Aḥmadnagar has a particular locality, which was until very recently known as *Ghulām 'Alī Bāgh*.<sup>1</sup> It is specified in the city Survey of 1911. It included the present *Nawī Peth*, the open space now known as Gāndhī Maidān, the premises which have been turned into the Municipal Marāṭhī School No. 1, and other places. Just adjacent to the Mārkaṇḍeya Temple and the Gāndhī Maidān, is situated what is known as the *Ghulām 'Alī Kī Masjid*. In the compound of this mosque, as also in the adjoining open space, which forms City Survey No. 5558 and which formed part of the old *Ghulām 'Alī Bāgh*, there are a number of tombs. One of these tombs is situated within the boundaries of the Mārkaṇḍeya Temple, the Trustees of which have, by an agreement deed, taken upon themselves to look after this tomb. To the north of the mosque, and on the street, lies another tomb where '*Urs*' is held every year. It is reported that one of these above-mentioned tombs contains the remains of *Ghulām 'Alī Hindū Shāh*, the father of our historian. For the maintenance of this mosque and the tombs situated in the vicinity, a certain *Waqf* was created by way of *Jāgīr* in the village of Mehekri, but the Trustees *Mutawallis* of this mosque sold out the *Jāgīr*, which now forms part of a stranger's property. Until very recently the mosque as well as the premises was left uncared for, but some Muslims of Aḥmadnagar are now using the mosque for the purposes of prayers, and it is looked after much better than before.

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted in this connection that Campbell's statement in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, xvii, p. 658, regarding the name of this locality, is not correct.

## TWO CONUNDRUMS IN THE BHAGAVADGĪTA

### EXPLAINED

BY

Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. KIBE, M.A.

( I )

महर्षयः सप्त पूर्वे चत्वारो मनवस्तथा ।

मज्जावा मानसा जाता येषां लोक इमाः प्रजाः ॥ १०-६

The plain translation of this stanza would be :—

“ Mahārṣis seven and former four Manus, who created the people, are the manifestations of my mind ” or “ created by me from the idea of my mind. ”

Apart from the fact that the translation within inverted commas is not according to the orthodox view, the historical part of the mythological allusion made in it has led to much diversion of opinion amongst the commentators of the Gita.

Some Western Philosophers hold that the world is nothing but an idea in the mind of God. This view would be supported by the translation given in the inverted commas. The other translation of this—the third line in the stanza—means the same thing, but leaves the meaning ambiguous. For instance it is not explained how God created the persons named in the previous line as the progenitors of the human race by his mind. Was the creator a personality like the one in the Bible “ For God said let there be light, and there was light. ” To hold so would raise so many difficulties. On the other hand to maintain that the Universe is a manifestation of the idea of the Supreme Mind, i. e. it has no real existence apart from it, would be in accordance with the opinion that what is seen or felt to be so, is in essence unreal. The latest and greatest commentator of the modern age, Bal Gangadhar Tilak has not explained this point at all. The translation given by him is as enigmatic as the text.

This, however, is a philosophical speculation. The real difficulty lies in the unrevelling of the first line.

Tilak in his *Gītā Rahasya* has discussed the difficulty. He, however, has arrived at his meaning by going against, if not disturbing, the arrangement of the line. In it the numerals चत्वारः ( four ) and सप्त ( seven ), are used as adjuncts of the persons named in two groups viz., the "Maharṣayah" and "Manavah," the remaining word पूर्व means former. This word is used in another place ( पूर्वैरपि ब्रह्मभूमिः । and पूर्वैः पूर्वतरं कृतम् ॥ ४-१५ ) where it also means the same thing. To say, as Tilak does, that it is an adjunct of something not mentioned, is doing violence to the scheme of the line.

But to understand the real difficulty felt in translating the line, as is evident from the different meanings attached to it by different commentators, which are described in the *Gītā Rahasya*, a knowledge of the Hindu cosmology is necessary.

It is partly given in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Manusmṛiti*, the *Viṣṇu* and one or two other purāṇas and even in the famous astronomical treatise, *सूर्य सिद्धान्त*.

The greatest measure of time according to the last named work is 4, 32,00,00,000 human years. It is known as कल्प. It is one day and night of Brahmadeva who created the world. The human year is divided by two equinoxes, which are respectively one day and night of the Devas, i. e. one year of the human beings is the one whole day of the Devas. If the latter are taken to mean the stars in the heavens then this can be explained by saying that one revolution of the earth round the sun is their one day. So that a whole year means 360 years of the human beings. The human cycle of years, called महायुग, consists of four such युग of different durations and between them also is the period of dawn. In all 12000 years are required to complete one cycle. Even the *Gītā* favours this view.

सहस्रयुगपर्यन्तमहर्षिर्ब्रह्मणो विदुः ।

रात्रिं युगसहस्रान्तं तेऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ॥ ८-१७

Those who ( in principle ) know what a whole day ( of the Brahmadeva ) means ( i. e. one set of four युग called महायुग ) ( hold ) that a thousand such महायुग constitute a day and similarly one thousand such महायुग constitute his night. One more question in this respect has arisen owing to the fantastic extension applied to each of these युग. This has led writers to hold

that these 12000 years are not human years but divine, which means 43, 70,000 years; these again are allotted to the four युग. So upto now, 50 years of the life of the creator have come to pass and the present is the first day of the 51st year. It is called the श्वेतवराह कल्प. In every such कल्प, which is defined above, there are 14 Manus out of them the period of six is over and the 7th named Vaivasvat is ruling. In every Manu period there are 71 Mahā yugas, out of them 27 have passed and the 28th is in operation. In this the fourth yuga, the Kali is in its first quarter ( see Viṣṇu Purāṇa 9-3 ).

In every Manu epoch there are seven big Ṛṣis. If Manu is the law giver, these are his assistants or collaborators. They appear to be constant in one Manu period and not successors to one another like the Manus.

With this back ground in view, different commentators have given different meanings to this line. Some hold that the great Ṛṣis mentioned in this line are those of the former Manu epoch. But they cannot escape from the fact that we have to take four Manu epochs as having passed. Others hold that the seven great Ṛṣis are those who are to be in the current epoch and only four Manus are mentioned. Both these views are open to the objection that the Gītā cannot have been delivered in the epoch of the 5th Manu as these interpretations would show. Here it must be remembered that the object of this line is to describe the immediate past, as no other reason for stating these historical facts is apparent and it cannot be said that the mention is purposeless. Bhagavān Śrī Kṛṣṇa could have easily used some word to denote seven Manus instead of four, e. g. षडार्ष in which case also पुर would not have been redundant. But Tilak's attempt to give it the status of a noun itself is a distortion.

There would, however, be no difficulty, if it is held that the Gītā was delivered when the 5th Manu was reigning. For this the phantastic, or for astronomical purposes, useful calculation of the युग will have to be discarded. The plain meaning would be " seven great Ṛṣis and the former four Manus, who created the people, are the products of the idea in my mind. "

It may be held that the work from which, this idea was borrowed in the Bhagavadgītā, belonged to that epoch. Those who have compared the passages in this work with these in the

उपनिषद्स and other ancient works have discovered such borrowings rather promiscuously. Often the ideas, but sometimes the very sentences from such works, have been incorporated in the Gītā. From this it would clearly appear that it is not a treatise in philosophy itself but an attempt to succinctly summarise the ideas in ancient works as a bulwark against the onslaughts to other philosophies, especially the Buddhist.

( II )

ऊर्ध्वं गच्छन्ति सत्त्वस्था मध्ये तिष्ठन्ति राजसाः ।

जघन्यगुणवृत्तिस्था अधो गच्छन्ति तामसाः ॥ १४-१८

Translated it means " Those in whom the सत्त्वगुण predominates go up, those in whom the रजोगुण predominates remain in the middle, those in whom the lower nature is perpetuated and therefore who are तामस, go down. "

Commentators have taken these destinations to mean, respectively heaven, world and hell. But as this stanza must be read in connection with the following stanza in an earlier portion of the work, some different meaning must be taken to prevail here.

The stanza runs.

अनेकजन्मसंसिद्धस्ततो याति परां गतिम् । ६-४५

Translated it would mean :—

Equipped in many lives ( i e. after several transmigrations ) he obtains the highest stage.

N. B. This highest stage is none other than liberation, according to the Gītā.

स तं परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥ ८-१०

It is true that that the Gītā mentions a heaven from which men return after enjoying the fruits of the merits they have acquired.

ते तं भुक्त्वा स्वर्गलोकं विशालं ।

क्षीणे पुण्ये मर्त्यलोके विशन्ति ॥ ९-२१

But here the natural meaning would be that the सत्त्वगुणी go to higher stages in life ( e. g. if a śūdra then into the life of a vaiśya and so on ), in whom रजोगुण predominates remain in the same stage, and those in whom the तमोगुण predominates go into lower stages of the animal life. It is after this that

बहूनां जन्मनामन्ते ज्ञानवान्मां प्रपद्यते । ७-१९

“ At the end of many lives, one who has acquired knowledge reaches me. ”

In this case one need not have to go through the cycle of 84 lacks of the stages of the lives, alluded to by the *Mahārāṣṭra Santos*--saints.

The heaven is a stage, according to the *Gītā* itself, for those who die fighting in a battle.

हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे महीम् । २-३७

If you are killed ( in battle ) you will obtain the heavens or if you will conquer you will enjoy the ( fruits ) of the earth.

There is another way of reaching the heavens. It is by way of the performance of the sacrifices. Thus having,

यज्ञैरिष्ट्वा स्वर्गतिं प्रार्थयन्ते ।

ते पुण्यमासाद्य सुरेन्द्रलोकम् ॥ १-२०

performed sacrifices with the object of obtaining the heaven and thereby having acquired merit they reach the abode of Indra.

But the way of reaching the place from which there is no return,

आब्रह्मभुवनाल्लोकाः पुनरावर्तिनोऽर्जुन ।

मामुपेत्य तु कौन्तेय पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥ ८-१६

is this

अन्तकाले च मामेव स्मरन्मुक्त्वा कलेवरम् ।

यः प्रयाति स मद्भावं याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ ८-५

“ Oh Kaunteya all the worlds are such as from which there is return but he who comes to me is free from re-births ( 8-16 ) and there is no doubt that he, who in the last breath of his life remembers me and leaves the body, comes to me ( 8-5 ). ”

However the later stanzas demonstrate that it requires a life long effort. It is, however, the main theme of the *Gītā*.

In 14-14 it is said that

यदा सत्त्वं प्रवृद्धं तु प्रलयं याति देहभृत् ।

तदोत्तमविद्वान् लोकानमलान्प्रतिपद्यते ॥

If at the time of death *सत्त्वं* is increased, then he reaches the world ( of the people ) possessing highest knowledge.

In view of this, 14-18 ( the stanza quoted in the beginning ) can only mean that he also attains the highest bliss. But the latter shows that the normal way of a person leading a life in

which the quality of सत्त्व predominates leads him to higher stages in lives (योनिः).

The attitude of the Gītā on योनिः is made clear in the following stanzas.

मां हि पार्थ व्यपाश्रित्य येऽपि स्युः पापयोनयः ।

स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्रास्तेपि यान्ति परां गतिम् ॥ ३२

किं पुनर्ब्राह्मणाः पुण्या भक्ता राजर्षयस्तथा ।

अनित्यमसुखं लोकमिमं प्राप्य भजस्व माम् ॥ ३३

“ Having taken my shelter the पापयोनयः ( lower stages in life ) like the women, वैश्य and शूद्र, also reach the highest stage, then what of the holy Brahmins ? ”

Then again :—

आसुरीं योनिमापन्ना मूढा जन्मानि जन्मानि । १६-२०

“ Having reached the stage of आसुरः ( the lowest in mankind ) who remain ignorant in several lives ”.

These observations support the meaning of the stanza given at the top of this article.

In connection with the transmigration of the soul there are two stanzas ( 8-24 and 25 ) which only refer to some ideas prevailing at sometime.

But it is clear that among the several paths of reaching the highest stage acceptable to the Gītā, herein there is clear reference to योनिः and their different stages. To take the stanza under reference to mean “ those in whom the highest quality i. e. सत्त्व go to heavens ” does not fit in with the scheme in the Gītā.

## INDO-MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE \*

BY

DR. M. A. CHAGHTAI, D.Litt.

Though the Muslims had accomplished the conquest of Sindh India ) in 712 yet India did not feel the impact of the Muslim cultural ideas until the beginning of the eleventh century when the repeated raids of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna compelled her to take notice of the new force. He died in 1030 and he had appointed his representatives in the places he had conquered, especially in the Punjab and other parts. Many important monuments for the immediate requirements were constructed which unfortunately no longer exist.<sup>1</sup> But the style of architecture created by the Ghaznavid dynasty was based on the prototypes of the Tulunid monuments of Egypt<sup>2</sup> and those of the Abbasids at Samarra, as we have its specimens. I discovered an inscription from the Kāch mosque in Ahmadabad dated 445 H., A. D. 1053,<sup>3</sup> which shows that the mosque was built just twenty four years after the death of Mahmud of Ghazna, but the information afterwards inscribed on it shows that the inscription was taken from the very foundations of the present mosque when it was being erected during the early days of the Gujarat Muslim kings. Ahmadabad is not very far away from Somnath, the main centre of the raids of Mahmud. It is indeed remarkable that after about four centuries, the Muslim kingdom of Gujarat was established on the same spot. In short, it is evident that these Muslims already possessed a highly developed architecture because they were of Persian, Turkish and Afghan blood. There is no doubt that they were endowed with a natural instinct for

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\* Text of the extension lecture delivered at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, on 20th February 1941. It was illustrated with forty slides.

<sup>1</sup> *Kitab Adābu'l-Harab wa' sh-Shuja'at* of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, ( extract) published in the suppl. Oriental College Magazine, Lahore 1938, pp. 38, 55.

<sup>2</sup> Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* London, 1910. Vol. II, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Chaghtai, M. A., *An Exhibition of Impressions of Inscriptions*, Lahore, 1936, p. 3.



the art of building, although in the beginning they were much influenced by Sasanian and Byzantine motifs,<sup>1</sup> because Islamic art was not created by a nation like many western artistic movements, but by a religion which was, and is even today, the faith of many nations in many parts of the world.

The actual history of Indo-Muslim architecture begins with the most ancient existing monument, the mosque Quwwat-ul-Islam at Delhi and its *minār*, which stands out as a landmark for miles around. Founded during the reign of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, a Viceroy of Muiz-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori ibn Sam, Sultan of Ghazna, to celebrate his victory over the Rajput forces in 1191; it was erected under the supervision of Fazl bin Abi'l-Ma'ali on the site of demolished Hindu and Jain temples out of their spoils.<sup>2</sup> The lofty arches are adorned with friezes and Quranic inscriptions. It had also domes as mentioned by the contemporary historians,<sup>3</sup> which, however, do not exist at present. So this same style rapidly went through India and it became essential with the Muslims. They had employed local non-Muslim masons who were ignorant of the proper Muslim methods and forms, but they built according to the suggestions of the chief Muslim architects. Sir John Marshall has well said: "To create a successful building out of such material, to reconcile two styles so characteristically opposed without transgressing the standard formulas of Islamic art, might well have been deemed an impossible task. For the contrast between the Hindu temples and the Muslim mosque could hardly have been more striking. The shrine of the former was relatively small and constricted, the prayer chamber of the latter was broad and spacious. The one was gloomy and mysterious; the other lighted and open to the winds of heaven. The Hindu system of construction was *trabeate*, based on column and architrave; the Muslim was *arcuate*, based on arch and vault. The temple was crowned with slender spires or pyramidal towers; the mosque with expansive domes. Hinduism found concrete expression in the worship of images and its monuments were enriched with countless idols of its deities; Islam rigidly forbade idolatry or the portrayal of any

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<sup>1</sup> Sir John Marshall, *Monuments of Muslim India* (Cambridge History of India), Vol. III, p. 571.

<sup>2</sup> *Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica*, 1911-12, pp. 13, 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Qiran us-Sadain* of Amir Kheesree. Aligadh 1918, pp. 25-32.

living thing. Decorative ornament in Hindu architecture delighted in plastic modelling; it was naturalistic as Gothic and far more exuberant; Islamic ornament on the other hand, inclined to colour and line or flat surface carving and took the form of conventional arabesques or ingenious geometric patterning. Yet, with all these conspicuous contrasts (and there are many more that might be added), there are certain factors common to both forms of architecture which materially assisted towards their amalgamation.”<sup>1</sup> After Iltutmish comes an interval of 90 years when Al’a-ud-Din Khalji added a gateway to the same Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque which in style is more Saracenic. Thus in India the pure Islamic motifs in architecture began to establish themselves and the non-Muslim masons under the guidance of their Muslim masters were duly trained to carry out their designs in arches, domes, arabesque decorations and other minor details.

Here it appears necessary that in the spirit of Muslim architecture, the true arch, must be defined, for it is considered a great innovation brought by the Muslims. It is just possible that some would object that before the Muslims such forms existed in rock-cut constructions. This is true, but the true arch, scientifically speaking, is an assemblage of large wedges put together without cement, remaining stable by the balance of parts.<sup>2</sup> Arthur Kingsley Porter has well remarked that the pendentives (*muparrinas*), the main feature of the dome construction, were known in the East at a very early epoch and the arch among the Arabs was so common as a special feature of their construction that they used to say, “an arch never sleeps”.<sup>3</sup> Thus the arch and dome with the Muslims have been from time immemorial the key-note of their construction, and though in their newly-adopted styles they frequently perpetuated the trabeate system, it was the arch and dome that they always regarded as peculiarly their own and as symbolic of their faith. “Other characteristic features which they introduced were *minār* or minaret,<sup>4</sup> the pendentive and squinch arch,

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 570-71.

<sup>2</sup> Lethaby, W. R., *Architecture*, (Home University Library of Modern Knowledge Series) p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> A. Kingsley Porter, *Mediaeval Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 105 (New York, 1912).

<sup>4</sup> *Minār* or Minaret (Arabic *minārah*), a tall slender shaft or turret rising high above the mosque. From it *muezzin* summons the faithful to prayer.

stalactite, honey-combing and half-domed double portal. Elaborate decoration and highly coloured ornament were at all times dear to the heart of the Muslim, and in both these spheres he introduced striking innovations. The rich floral designs of the Indian artists he supplemented with flowing arabesque or intricate geometric devices of his own, or sometimes interwove them ( as only a Muslim calligraphist could ) the graceful lettering of his sacred texts and historic inscriptions. Nor was it enough that his buildings should be beautiful merely with a wealth of carving executed in stone or brick or plaster ; the Muslim required colour also and colour he supplied by painting and gilding, or by employing stones of various hues to accentuate the architectural features. Later on, by the more laborious processes of tessellating and *pietra dura*, he reproduced the designs themselves in coloured stones and marbles. Still more brilliant were the effects he attained by encaustic tiling, which he used at first sparingly and in a few colours only, but later without restraint to embellish whole buildings with glistening surface of enamel." <sup>1</sup> So Muslims began with these motifs in India wherever they settled.

Massiveness and exterior simplicity characterised in Tughluq architecture like early Norman in England. This dynasty lasted almost a century but their monuments with inscriptions are found almost in every part of India. Wherever they went they constructed buildings. Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq can specially be regarded as one of the most illustrious builders of India. His public works are mentioned by the contemporary historian Siraj Afif who tells us how deeply this monarch was devoted to the cause of public welfare. By that period the art of town-planning and building had attained a high level and various buildings such as forts, palaces, mosques, hospitals, *bunds*, tombs etc., had seen the light of the day. At the close of the 14th century almost all the provinces broke away from the suzerainty of the Sultans of Delhi and thus different dynasties in different parts adopted their own designs according to local facilities. Accordingly the Sharqi kings in Jaunpur created a curious hybrid of Hindu and Muslim art; Bengal developed a Muslim style of its own which is mostly

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<sup>1</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 573.

found in Gour and Pandua in Malda district ; Mandu-Malwa under the Sultans of the Khalji dynasty developed a purely Muslim style and they built their monuments on the tops of hills ; in Gujarat, the centre of the Jains and other orthodox Hindus, the Muslims were compelled to create a new style of their own, basing it on the facilities of the material and the utilization of some of the pre-existing non-Muslim monuments with their peculiarities of the dome and arch as seen quite clearly even in the very early monuments at Cambay.<sup>1</sup> And similarly in the Deccan the styles of the Bahmani, Barid Shahi and Nizam Shahi kings are really most important chapters in the history of Muslim architecture. But at Bijapur the style created by the Adil Shahi kings really requires special attention because on a casual observation it appears to bear close affinities to the Mughal architecture, and many have already referred to it in connection with the Taj Mahal. Of course, they have only the bulbous dome and general appearance in common, but they are fundamentally different from the Taj. Their two great architects Malik Sandil and Malik Yaqut Dhabhuli were strongly influenced by Turkish motifs. They built Sultan Ibrahim's *rouza* and mosque, respectively. Their names are preserved in inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> The biggest dome in the world, over the grave of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah known as the *Gol Gunbad*—round dome—was built in 1665. The tomb of Sultan Ibrahim was already built when the Taj Mahal at Agra was begun, i. e. the monuments of the Adil Shahis are more or less contemporary with those of Shah Jahan. The top of the dome of Sultan Ibrahim bears a round crescent. This mausoleum was begun by himself in his lifetime, but as his wife Taj Sultana died before him, she was buried there first and later he himself was also buried therein in 1633. This crescent either shows that the Adil Shahi dynasty was of Turkish origin or that the architects were from Turkey because the crescent is a Turkish innovation for the tops of the domes. Under Muslim influence the dome

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<sup>1</sup> See J. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, pts. I & II (London, 1900-5), and *Architecture of Bharoch, Cambay, Dholka, Champaner and Muhammadad*, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Fergusson and Taylor, *Architecture of Beejapoor*. (London, 1866 ), pp. 72-73.

builders of India attained a mastery over this form unknown to them before, but further the Pathans had especially introduced polygonal bases for their tombs and other pavillions with almost hemi-spherical domes over them, numerous specimens of which are seen in old Delhi and other places. The best of them is the mausoluem of Sher Shah Suri (1539-45), the most illustrious of his race, near Sasram in Shahabad with coloured tiles imported from Persia. He had devoted his special attention to public works. The mosque and Sher Mandal in Delhi old fort are also the best specimens of his architecture with more elaborate designs of decoration in stone.<sup>1</sup>

It is mentioned in *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*<sup>2</sup> that Agra had been the seat of Government of Gorgani Sultans, who built lofty, delicate, beautiful and spendid buildings there. Among the architects of the age there was a most eminent architect, Ustad Hirvi (of Hirat). The comtemporary poet Moulana Wahshi Yazdi composed verses in praise of his highly-skilled workmanship. Ustad Hirvi was a fugitive from Iran and settled in India; he constructed a great many buildings. The *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi* also gives an account<sup>2</sup> of the tomb of Abdur Rahim Khan Khana's wife at Delhi, in which Khan Khana himself was interred later on. This fine tomb is regarded as a prototype of the Taj by Creswell.<sup>3</sup> It was presumably designed by the same Ustad Hirvi, who is specially mentioned by the author as a leading architect of those days.

But before the erection of the tomb of Khan Khana's wife the mausoleum of Humayun was in existence in Delhi. Its atcual architect is still a mystery, though the experts say that Humayun's tomb is the real prototype of the Taj. In the enclosure of Nizam-ud-Din Aulya there stands the tomb of Shams-ud-Din Muhammad Khan of Ghazna, alias Atka Khan, which was built almost at the time of the construction of Humayun's tomb ( 974 A. H. / 1566 A. D. ). Though it is much

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<sup>1</sup> Fergusson, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, Vol. II, pp. 610-12 ( Calcutta ) 1930, and the Cambridge University Library Mss. of the same, which I called the printed edition and found that the printed edition bears the wrong name of the architect Baruli instead of Hirvi.

<sup>3</sup> Cap. K. A. C. Creswell, " The History and Evolution of the Dome in Persia " in *Indian Antiquary*, 1915, pp. 133-159.

smaller than that of Humayun yet both these are absolutely identical with each other, especially as regards their dome and the material used in them. The name of the architect of Atka Khan's tomb is Ustad Khuda Quli, as inscribed on the eastern door of the tomb.<sup>1</sup>

The same is true of the Taj Mahal at Agra, which was built by Ahmad about 225 years after the construction of the Gour-i-Amir or Amir Timur's mausoleum at Samarkand. Ahmad's second son Lutfullah *Muhandis* (engineer) has mentioned in his poetical works that his father Ahmad, entitled *Nadir-ul-Asr*, was the architect of the Taj and the Delhi fort, which I have fully discussed elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> Ahmad's name is also mentioned as father of Lutfullah in an inscription on a metal plate at Mandu in Hoshang Gori's tomb, which bears the name of several other architects of Shahjahan's time who visited Mandu in 1070 A. H./A. D. 1659 and left that inscription as their memorial.<sup>3</sup> No contemporary historical records give us any useful information as to the real architect of the Taj, with the exception of the *Amal-i-Saleh* of Mulla Muhammad Salih Kambu and the *Badshah Nama* of Muhammad Waris, which record two names—viz., Ahmed and Hamid,<sup>4</sup> who were employed at the time of the construction of buildings at Delhi during the reign of Shahjahan in A. D. 1638.

Apart from the evidence of the names of the architects of Central Asia who are responsible for introducing into India the theory and style of Islamic architecture, we find that the arrangement of the underground sepulchral vault in the Taj at Agra is the same as that in the Gour-i-Amir at Samarkand. And again the chief architectural feature of the Taj—the bulbous dome—has the same double structure as that of the Gour-i-Amir

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<sup>1</sup> *Atharu's Sanadid*, 1904, p. 57 and Inscription No. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Chaghtai, M. A., "A Family of Great Mughal Architects", *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad Dn. 1937, pp. 200-209.

<sup>3</sup> *Ephigraphic Indo-Muslimica*, 1909-10, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Amal-i-Saleh* Vol. III, p. 28 (Calcutta 1930), and *Badshah Nama* of Muhammad Waris, Bad. Ms. (Oxford), Caps. Ov. D. 3 fol. 17. The printed edition of the *Amal-i-Saleh* also contains erroneous information, i. e. 1078 instead of 1043, and only one name Ahmed of the architect instead of two names Ahmed and Hamid.

at Samarkand, which is the most distinct feature of the style and it has been defined by the contemporary historians as the *pear-shaped* dome of which no specimen existed in this country before.<sup>1</sup> And I here emphasize the fact that the double dome comes from Muslim architecture,<sup>2</sup> as we quote here from Captain Creswell :—

“Is there, or was there, anywhere in the Muslim world known to Timur a double dome with swelling outline? Yes, at one place and at one only, and that at Damascus, where stood the great Umayyad Mosque built by Caliph Walid in A. D. 705 ”.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, at Bukhara the mausoleum of Abu Ibrahim Ism’ail son of Ahmad the Samanid Sultan ( A. D. 892-907 ) with four little domes around the central dome may be taken as the real prototype of this particular feature of the Taj Mahal at Agra.<sup>4</sup>

Sir Muhummad Iqbal has beautifully described these Indo-Muslim monuments in his poetical work the *Zabur-i-Ajam* under the heading—“The Architecture of the Free people”.

- 1 Arise and behold the monuments of Aibak and Suri,  
Open your eyes if you have been graced with insight.
- 2 They have revealed their true self.  
Thereby enjoying a sight of themselves.
- 3 Outwardly they have placed one stone upon the other,  
But in fact they have linked the infinite with the finite.
- 4 Art brings us to the artist,  
And reveals his genius.
- 5 Noble ambition and lofty mind.  
Behold these two precious gems in the heart of a stone.

<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Saleh Kambo, *Amal-i-Saleh*, Vol. II, pp. 380-385 and Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badashah Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 424-430.

<sup>2</sup> Chaghtai, M.A., *Le Taj Mahal d'Agra* Bruxelles 1938, pp. 20-21, and figs. 35-38, and *Les Mosques de Samarcande*, Saint Petersburg, 1905, pp. v-viii.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, 1915, as quoted above.

<sup>4</sup> Ernest Cohn-Wiener, *Turan*, p. 33, pl. I. (Vienna, 1930).

- 6 Just behold, for a moment, that pure gem,  
The Taj on a moon-lit night.
- 7 Its marble surpasses the flowing water in speed,  
A moment's stay in the Taj is more eternal than eternity  
itself.
- 8 It is the love of noble men which has disclosed its secrets,  
And perforated the stones with the tips of eye-lashes.
- 9 The love of noble men is pure but all the same coloured  
like paradise,  
It produces sweet songs from stones and bricks.
- 10 The love of noble men is a touch-stone for the proper test  
and appreciation of beauty,  
It conceals and reveals beauty at times.
- 11 His lofty ambition transcended the heavens,  
And soared above the universe.
- 12 Since the magnificent sight he saw could not be described  
in words,  
He unveiled his great mind ( in the construction of  
the Taj).



## SOME ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES

BY

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### I. *Anūpas*

The Anūpas are mentioned as a tribe in the Vāyu Purāṇa (XIV, 134); the Matsya Purāṇa reads Arūpa instead (cxiii, 54), and the Mārkaṇḍeya reads Annajas (lvii, 55), both of which are no doubt erroneous. Anūpa literally means any marshy tract or country lying not very far from the seas; this will be evident from the use of the word sāgarānūpa in several places of the Mahābhārata. Thus we have tracts known as Anūpa in Bengal (Sabhā p. xxv. 1002; xxix. 1101; xxxiii, 1268-9); in the Far South (Udyoga p. xviii, 578); on the western coast (Udyoga p. iii, 81); in or near about Kathiawar (Hari V. cxiii, 6361-9; cxiv, 6410-11). According to the Harivamśa, Anūpa, the country of the Anūpa tribe, lay contiguously with Surāṣṭra and Ānartta; the same source also tells us that it was to the south of Surāṣṭra (xciv, 5142-80). According to the Mahābhārata, King Kārtavīrya and Nila were both known as "lords of Anūpa" whence it appears that the Anūpas must have occupied the tract of country south of Surāṣṭra and around Māhiṣmati on the Narmadā. This is corroborated by epigraphic evidence as well. We learn from the Nāsik record of queen Gautamī Balaśrī that her son conquered Anūpa along with other countries, namely Mahārāṣṭra, Mulaka (country round Paithan), Suratha (Surāṣṭra), Kukura (country near the Pariyātra or the Western Vindhyas), Aparānta (northern Konkan), Vidarbha and Ākāra-Āvanti (Eastern and Western Malwa). Most of these tracts seem to have been reconquered from Gautamīputra by Rudradāman the Śaka, for the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription states that the rule of Rudradāman extended over Pūrva-āpar-Ākāra-Āvanti Anupanivṛt, Ānartta (tract round Dvārakā), Surāṣṭra, Svabhra (on both banks of the river Sabarmati), Maru (= Mārwar), Kaccha, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Kukuna, Aparānta and Niśada.

## 2. Kīkaṭas

The Kīkaṭas or the Kīkaṭa tribe are mentioned in the Ṛgveda (III. 53, 14) as being under the rule of a king named Prama-ganda. Yāska in his Nirukta (VI, 32) says that Kīkaṭa was a non-aryan country (anārya-nivāsa). The author of the Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa echoes this statement of Yāska when he says that the Kīkaṭa country was pāpa-bhūmi or impure country (Kīkaṭe ca mṛto'pyeṣa pāpabhūmau na saṁśayaḥ. XXVI, 47). That the Kīkaṭa country included the Gayā district would be evident from the following passage of the Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa (XXV, 20, 22) :

Kīkaṭe nāma deśe'sti Kāka-karṇākhyo nṛpaḥ |  
Prajānām hitakṛnnityam Brahma-dveṣakaras tathā ||  
tatra deśe Gayā nāma puṇyadeśo'sti viśrutaḥ |  
nadi ca Karṇadā nāma piṭṛnām Svargadāyini ||

This is further corroborated by the Vāyu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas, as well as by the commentary of Śrīdhara :

Kīkaṭeṣu Gayā puṇyā puṇyam Rājagṛham vanam  
Cyavanasyāśramam puṇyam nadi puṇyā puṇahpuṇah  
(Vāyu. 108, 73)

Buddho nāmnāñjana-sutaḥ kīkaṭeṣu bhaviṣyati  
(Bhāgavata, I. 3. 24).

Kīkaṭeṣu madhye Gayāpradeśe (Śrīdhara)

We have seen that Kīkaṭa was an impure country, but later Brahmanical sources seem to have regarded some of the spots at least as holy, e. g. Gayā, Rājagṛha, and the hermitage of the sage Cyavana. Later authorities seem to hold the Kīkaṭa country identical with Magadha, e. g. the Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra has : "Kīkaṭa-Magadhāhvayaḥ"

## 3. Tukhāras

The Tukhāras are mentioned in the Mārka Purāṇa (LVII, 39) with the Kambojas, Daradas, Barbaras and Cīnas, all of whom are described as "races of men outside" (vāhyato naraḥ). The Vāyu-Purāṇa (XIV, 118) reads Tuṣāras instead meaning undoubtedly the same people. They are mentioned in the Mahābhārata both as Tukhāras (Sabhā, I. 1850) as well as Tuṣāras (Vana, LI, 1991; Śānti, LXV, 2429). In the former form they appear also in the Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣk. XLIV. 15). According to the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata, the Tukhāras seem to have

been an outside northern race bordering on the Himālayas. The *Harivaṃśa* (CXX, 4640-42) classes them along with the Śakas, Daradas, Pahlavas etc. and brands them all as mlecchas and dasyus. Strabo mentions a tribe called Tochari who along with the Asü, Pasiani, Sacarauti and the Sacæ deprived the Greeks of Bactriana. Lassen identifies the Tukhāras with this Tochari tribe and locates them on the north of the Hindukush (Ind. Alt. map.). Ptolemy mentions the Tokeroi who are doubtless identical with the Tukhāras, as an important element of the Bactrian population. The "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea" also seems to point to the same people when they speak of "the warlike nation of the Bactrians." The Tukhāras seem to have continued as a tribe till as late as the 9th and 10th centuries of the Christian era when they seem to have played an important part in the history of Kāśmīr.

#### 4. *Kukurās*

The Kukurās as a tribe are referred to in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and seem to have occupied the Dvārakā region which is described as "Kukur-Āndhaka-Vṛṣṇibhiḥ guptāḥ." The Vāyu Purāṇa also seems to refer to the tribe when it represents Ugrasena, the king of the Yādavas as "Kukurodbhava" or "originated from Kukura." The Bṛhatsamhitā seems to locate the tribe in western or central India (XIV, 4). According to the Nāsik record of Queen Gautamī Balasrī, her son seems to have conquered the Kukurās along with the Surathas, Mūlakas, Aparantas, Anūpas, Vidharbhas etc. According to the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription most of these peoples along with Kukurās were reconquered by Śaka-Rudradāman.

#### 5. *Ugras*

The Ugras seem to have been a very old and once a well-known tribe. They are mentioned in the Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad (III. 8. 2) as well as in the Uvasaga-dasāo (See Hoernle's edn. II, p, 139, art. 210). According to the Āṅguttara Nikāya, the Uggas or Ugras are associated with Vaiśālī or Vesālī (Uggo gahapati Vesālīko; Ang. N. I, 26. Nipata I). The same Nikāya associates them with Hatthigāma. The Dhammapada Commentary refers to a city called Ugga or Ugra. A passage in the Sūtrak-tāṅga seems to suggest that the Ugras along with the Bhogas, Aiksvākas and Kauravas were associated with the Jñātrīs and Licchavis as subjects of the ruler of Vajji and members of the Vajji clan (S. B. E. XLV, 339),

# THE ĀNDHRA MAHĀBHĀRATAMU

BY

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I am writing this article for the benefit of non-Telugu scholars who may be interested to know of the Āndhra Bhāratamu. The whole of the Mahābhārata was rendered into Telugu poetry by three ancient poets of Āndhra, who have carved for themselves a permanent place in the republic of Telugu letters. They enlivened the original and developed the spirit of it by their superb rendering into sweet strains of Telugu poetry. The translated work is in the Kāvya style. The Mahābhārata has been rendered into a variety of metres popular in the Telugu Literature such as Kanda, Campakamālā, Utpalamālā, Mattebha, Śārdūla-vikrīditam, Śīsam, Layagrāhi, Taruvoja, Utoḥaha, Madhyakkara and so forth. The Śīsa metre is akin to prose; and, being midway between prose and poetry, it can be read as well as be sung. It will be seen that the metre chosen in respect of a verse is deliberately done so as to bring out the *bhāva* or sentiment in the best possible manner. Thus the Āndhra Bhāratamu has acquired an independent and unique place in the Telugu literature even from the point of view of the Sanskrit scholars of Āndhra. The Āndhra composition has both prose and poetry. It is rendered in the "Campū style," and it was regarded as a model for all Telugu classical poets of note for several centuries.

It was in the eleventh century that the Mahābhārata, regarded by the Telugu scholars and non-scholars alike as the *Pañcamavedam*, or *Veda-sāram*, commenced to be translated. The impetus and patronage were provided by the Emperor Rājārāja Narendra who belonged to the Cālukyan dynasty and who had his capital Rājamahendravaram, now known as Rajahmundry, on the banks of the river Godāvarī. He ruled according to all authorities from 1022 to 1063 A. D. with great pomp and glory. He was the patron of Nannayabhaṭṭa, the court poet, who translated the first two parvans of the Mahābhārata and a portion of the Āraṇyaparvan and dedicated the work to Emperor Rājārāja Narendra. He did not live to complete the rest of the Āraṇya-

parvan. The translation was undoubtedly the outcome or the Brahmanical reaction that set in the wake of the extermination and extinction of Buddhism and Jainism in the Telugu country. All Telugu literature prior to Nannayabhaṭṭa perished. There is no trace of the Buddhist and Jaina Bhāratas now. Possibly Nannayabhaṭṭa's rendering in the Kāvya style was in answer to those that prevailed prior and upto his time, which were conceived as Buddhist or Jaina versions of the Mahābhārata. If that was so, then it admirably answered the purpose.

The literature prior to Nannayabhaṭṭa, whether with or without any bearing on the Mahābhārata, perished beyond human memory, and the Āndhrabhārata begun by Nannayabhaṭṭa was the only sun that shone and shed its effulgent rays on the world of Telugu letters ever afterwards. This accounts for the fact that Nannayabhaṭṭa has been hailed as 'Āndhra Ādyakavi,' Āndhra Vāganuśāsana' (legislator of Āndhra letters), Āndhra Vyāsa, and so forth. It is claimed that Telugu literature had its first appearance with the Āndhra Bhāratamu by Nannayabhaṭṭa. But the literary perfection displayed by Nannayabhaṭṭa in the first two cantos of the Mahābhārata and in about a half of the Āraṇyaparvan rendered into Telugu poetry in the eleventh century, could not but have been the product of prior literary output, which, alas, is now extinct. Tradition has it, a contemporary of Nannayabhaṭṭa, one Adharvaṇācārya, had rendered the whole of the Mahābhārata into Telugu poetry. He desired to present it to the king, with whom Nannayabhaṭṭa was *persona grata* in order to gain royal favour. It is further alleged that the Āndhrabhārata of Adharvaṇācārya being in several respects superior to that of his (Nannaya's) own, Nannaya felt envious of the product of Adharvaṇācārya and got his house and along with it his Mahābhārata burnt! Whatever truth there might or might not be in this allegation, one can at least think that a contemporary Āndhrabhāratam did exist and that it perished either on account of jealousy or on account of its being consigned to the flame of fanatical fury with which the new-fangled Brahmanical reaction made its appearance at the time when Nannayabhaṭṭa was rendering the Mahābhārata in the court of Rājārāja Narendra, the great patron of poetry and philosophy. It is even possible that the Mahābhārata rendering thus destroyed, was either a Buddhist or a Jaina version which did not find favour with the Brahmanical state religion.

Thus the Āndhra Mahābhārata begun by Nannayabhaṭṭa remains the earliest piece of Telugu literature. Nannayabhaṭṭa himself is regarded as the earliest Telugu poet. The mode of his rendering into Telugu poetry of the Mahābhārata was never a literal one. He rendered the ideas rather than the Sanskrit words of the original into Telugu. Where too many details hampered the flow of the story he abridged them. He omitted what he considered unnecessary incidents. He lavished more descriptive talent at places where such was found necessary in the original. The vocabulary he employed abounds in Sanskrit compounds intermixed with Telugu words so as to form a harmonious blend. The words flow easily and sound sweet and melodious. His style was conceived in the Drākṣa-pāka ( with easiness to understand and sweetness to taste ) both as regards the verses and the prose passages at many places in between them.

Two-thirds of his words are Sanskrit and the rest Telugu. But this great Kāvya of Nannayabhaṭṭa is refreshingly modern in every respect. Nannayabhaṭṭa's rendering unfortunately did not pass beyond about half of the Āraṇyaparvan. His life and work stopped abruptly. The Āndhra Bhāratamu remained unfinished for nearly two centuries thereafter. None equal in capacity to Nannaya undertook the translation during the period. Either superstition associated with the unhappy Āraṇyaparvan or want of self-confidence in the subsequent authors to come up to the level of the Ādya-kavi, prevented their undertaking the rendering into Telugu from the place where it stopped.

It was not until the thirteenth century A. D. that Tikkana Somayāji commenced and completed the rendering into the Telugu Prabandha style the Mahābhārata as his predecessor. He was the minister of state of king Manumasiddhi and he flourished near Nellore. He was the king's philosopher and guide in all matters referring to administration. His 'advaitic' philosophical outlook coupled with scholarship and religious fervour, made him invincible in his disputations with the Buddhist and Jaina philosophers. They were routed in controversy. He had a great hold on the affairs of state including military operations of the monarch. To crown all, he performed a Yajña ( sacrifice ) and hence he was known as Tikkana Somayāji. All the above unique qualities including rare poetic gifts

entitled him to undertake the rendering of the Mahābhārata and to complete it commencing it from Virāṭparvan onwards. The superb rendering of the Mahābhārata by Tikkana Somayāji in Campū style earned for him the title of 'Kavibrahma.' His style is marked by a great economy of the choicest Telugu words weighed and strung together with the utmost perfection of art. In him art reaches the highest pinnacle of perfection. Mahābhārata, in its Telugu rendering, has touched the utmost reach of the poetic and dramatic arts not only as regards the exposition of the hidden treasures therein, but also as regards the incorporation of ideas and incidents found necessary to embellish and perfect the original. It is thus a self-contained, independent artistic product. In this unique process, condensation of unimportant details and incidents, omission of superficial incidents which retard the progress of the main current of the story, the transposing of events in the original so as to give them their proper setting at their appropriate place, the elaboration and elucidation of matter left in a state of vagueness in the original, the added importance given to characterization, the successful attempts made to relieve monotony of the narration by infusing variety and interest in the incidents by incorporation of conversation and incidents wanting in the original, the investment of grace and grandeur to the original ideas by clothing them in choicest idiom and phrase, the almost astonishing feat achieved to express everything in the minimum of embellished words and to keep up the "rasa" or sentiment undiminished to the end: these were the signal features of the Āndhra Bhārata by 'Kavibrahma' Tikkana Somayāji. He left untouched the unfinished rendering of the Āraṇyapāvan of Nannayabhaṭṭa. Devout as he was, he had omitted to do what the lesser poets than he did later on, viz., the translation of the Bhagavadgītā portion. He had also abridged the Sanastujātiyam. In Virāṭparvan of the Āndhra Bhārata the highest pinnacle of poetic art is reached, and the author with his characteristic genius enlivened the plot. Words more appropriate for the purpose are represented as spoken by Kicaka about Sairandhri than are found in the original. In the embassy of Lord Kṛṣṇa too, more things are depicted than in the original. With all this, one is struck at the remarkable condensation into about seventy verses of the moral tenets of Vidura in the Āndhra

**Mahābhārata**, which runs into about seven hundred verses in the original **Mahābhārata**. The **Āndhra Mahābhārata** from the **Virāṭa-parvan** to the end, thus, is the work of one poet **Tikkana Somayāji**, whose rendering has made it into an independent **prabandha** which not only embellished and brought out the hidden treasures of the original but considerably added to them. The poet's own characteristics such as military valour, diplomacy, philosophical outlook coupled with a great sense of realism have all been admirably reflected in **Āndhra Bhāratamu**.

In the matter of the delineation of character this portion of the **Mahābhārata** is superb. The dramatic effects of **Mahābhārata** are brought out prominently before the reader. The poetry too reads like prose without any way deflecting from its primary features of simplicity and directness of expression. In style, it is said to be of the **Kadalīpāka** (plaintain variety), because sweetness and beauty of the interior can only be felt and realised after peeling the exterior as of a plantain. In aptness of expressions and in the sense of refreshing novelty and variety that is opened before the reader as he goes on from verse to verse in this wonderful work of beauty, it has been the considered opinion of scholars and critics that this work stands inimitable in the whole range of Telugu literature, if not in any other literature as well.

The **Āndhra Bhāratamu** was all complete with the labours of **Nannayabhaṭṭa** of the 11th century and of **Tikkana Somayāji** in the 13th century A. D. But the unhappy **Āraṇyaparvan** remained incomplete all the same as pointed out above. It remained for another great Telugu poet of the 14th century, viz., **Errana** to render the unfinished portion of the **Mahābhārata** into Telugu. He is regarded as the third of the "**Kavitraya**", of the three poets, who composed the **Āndhra Bhāratamu**. Though the portion that fell to the lot of **Errana** was small, still, it contained such incidents as **Mārkaṇḍeya Upadeśam**, **Dharmavyādha Vṛttāntamu**, **Duryodhana's** **Ghoṣayātrā** and **Rāmacaritra**. True to the title which this poet bore, viz., **Prabandhā Parameśvara**, he rendered the portion in the same way as his predecessors. Condensation of superficial incidents, amplification and elucidation at points where the situations and incidents necessitate, are also prominent features associated with the rendering by **Errana**. His **Āraṇyaparvan** proves his equality



with the two poets who preceded him. The description of Śaratkāla at the point at which Nannaya left unfinished, is continued in such a way that the reader does not feel that it is composition by a different poet. The poet has the qualities of both his predecessors, although it cannot be said that he exceeded either in any respect. The style employed in Āraṇyaparvan was also conceived in the 'grape variety' as Nannaya-bhaṭṭa's was. His diction abounded in Sanskrit words to the extent of onehalf, the rest being choicest Telugu words and idioms blended with the former in a truly harmonious manner.

It will be seen from the above that the composition by "Kaviṭraya" had taken three centuries for completion. The Mahābhārata which Nannaya availed of in the eleventh century for rendering into Telugu, was said to contain 100,782 ślokas, although the Sanskrit manuscript Mahābhārata in the Telugu script which made its appearance about fifty years ago in the Āndhra country contained only 84,770 ślokas. Subsequently, researches of the Āndhra Sāhitya Pariṣad brought to light a manuscript Mahābhārata (written on palmyra leaves) in the Telugu country, which contained 99,057 ślokas. Āndhra Mahābhārata has been rendered into about 50,000 verses of the whole of the Mahābhārata epic in a way which brought additional grandeur and grace to the original.

Nannayabhaṭṭa rendered the original ślokas numbering 21,218 from Ādi to Āraṇyaparvan into 10,080 Telugu verses, Errana of the 6823 of the rest of the Āraṇyaparvan into 3822 Telugu verses, and Tikkana rendered the 72,741 ślokas of the original from Virāṭaparvan to the end into 33600 Telugu verses. Thus due to this unique composition, viz., the Āndhra Bhārata, popular fascination in the Āndhra country for the Mahābhārata had increased a thousandfold, and the same remains today undiminished after centuries. Nannaya, Tikkana and Errana are as fresh today in their compositions as they were when they composed Āndhra Mahābhārata centuries ago. The Āndhra Mahābhāratamu, which owed its original existence to royal patronage, was completed by Kavibrahma Tikkana Somayāji, who desisted from dedicating this work of his to any earthly monarch. Pious as he was, he dedicated the work to Hari-Hara Nātha, the Ruler of Rulers, whose unfailing Grace enabled him to complete the Āndhra Mahābhāratamu without any blemish for all time to come.

श्रीशिवः शरणं मम ॥

HĀSYA AS A RASA IN SANSKRIT RHETORIC AND  
LITERATURE \*

BY

HAR DUTT SHARMA,

My Guru, the late M. M. Pandit Rāmāvatāra Śarmā used to remark that ninety per cent of Sanskrit Literature is claimed by शृङ्गार-रस only, and the other seven or eight रस<sup>s</sup> have to accommodate themselves in the remaining ten percent. Hence, हास्य naturally occupies a very subordinate position in अलंकारशास्त्र and साहित्य. But, before I proceed further I would like to take your time in briefly determining the fundamental concept of रस, without entering into the details of the controversial points raised by various writers like भट्ट लोल्लट, भट्ट शङ्कुक, भट्ट नायक, धनंजय, भोज, शारदा-तनय, etc. For the purpose of this paper I shall start with अभिनव-गुप्त's conception of रस.

In order to approach the problem of रस, let us take a scene from the अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल, wherein दुष्यन्त is making love to शकुन्तला. Now, we find here three parties--(1) The real characters, (2) the actors, and (3) the spectators. Who enjoys the रस or the blissful joy? Whose रस is it? Apparently, it is the spectators that do it. As we do not actually know the real incidents and the reactions of दुष्यन्त etc., to them, we cannot be conscious of the रस joy experienced by the real characters. They are not before us. Hence, the रसप्रतीति does not lie with them. As regards the actors, in the first place, it is not necessary that they must have the रसप्रतीति; for, they may not be सहृदय<sup>s</sup>, may not be actually experiencing the emotions which they skilfully interpret on account of excellent training. Secondly, the रसप्रतीति experienced by the actors should not affect the spectators. On the contrary, it may give rise to disgust or shame in the minds of the cultured audience. Nor can we say that it is our रस or emotion which is

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represented on the stage. For, who would like to have his own feeling of love represented on stage in public ? अभिनवगुप्त says—

स्वैकगतानां च सुखदुःखसंविदामास्वादे यथासंभवं तदपगमभीरुतया वा, तत्परि-  
रक्षाव्यग्रतया वा, तत्सदृशार्जिजीविषया वा तज्जिहासया वा तत्प्रचिख्यापयिषया वा, तद्गो-  
पनेच्छया वा, प्रकारान्तरेण वा संवेदनान्तरसदृशम एव परमो विद्वन्ः। ( अभिनवभारती,  
p. 282, Gaekwad's Oriental Series edn. quoted. The read-  
ings are adopted here after consulting हेमचन्द्र's काव्यानुशासन,  
edited by R. C. Parikh and published by श्रीमहावीर जैन विद्यालय,  
Bombay, 1938 ). Hence, this रसास्वाद by the spectators must be  
something extra-ordinary, an अलौकिक experience. And let us  
try to probe it further.

The ancient rhetoricians, who were excellent psychologists as well, arrived at this conclusion by observation, experiment and intuition that there are certain deep-seated instinctive impressions or moods in man. They named these moods as स्थायिभावः. They are called dominant or स्थायिनः, because they are deep-seated and are of lasting nature, as distinguished from the superfluous transient or subordinate moods called व्याभिचारिभावः. अभिनवभारती gives an interesting test of determining whether a भाव is स्थायी or व्याभिचारी.

‘ ग्लानोऽयमित्युक्ते कुत इति हेतुप्रश्नेनास्थायितास्य सूच्यते । न तु राम उत्साह-  
शक्तिमान् इत्यत्र हेतुप्रश्नमाहुः ।

When somebody remarks--Rāma is wearied--then at once there arise such questions ‘of what, wherefrom or why ? ’ But when somebody remarks--Rāma is valourous--no such questions can arise. Determining by such and other devices, the ancient rhetoricians had arrived at the स्थायित्व or the dominant character of these eight moods—

रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहौ भयं तथा ।

लुप्युप्ता विस्मयश्चेति स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।

( नाट्यशास्त्र, VI. 18 ).

and the व्याभिचारित्व or the subordinate character of these thirty-three moods—

निर्वेदग्लानिशंकाख्यास्तथासूयामदभ्रमाः ।

आलस्यं चैव दैन्यं च चिन्ता मोहः स्मृतिर्घृतिः ।

ब्रीडा चपलता हर्ष आवेगो जडता तथा ।

गर्वो विषाद औत्सुक्यं निद्रापस्मार एव च ॥

सुप्तं प्रबोधोऽमर्षश्चाप्यवहित्थमथोग्रता ।

मतिर्व्याधिस्तथोन्मादस्तथा मरणमेव च ॥

त्रासश्चैव वितर्कश्च विज्ञेया व्यभिचारिणः ।

त्रयस्त्रिंशदमी भावाः समाख्यातास्तु नामतः ॥ (ibid 19-22)

Here a question might arise—why should स्थायिभाव be called dominant moods and the व्यभिचारिभाव<sup>s</sup> subordinate, when both are emotional moods? To this अभिनवगुप्त replies—

अप्रधाने च वस्तुनि संवित्कस्य विश्राम्यति । तस्यैव प्रत्येयस्य प्रधानान्तरं प्रत्यनुधावतः स्वात्मन्यविश्रान्तत्वात् । अतोऽप्रधानत्वं जडे विभावानुभाववर्गे व्यभिचारिनिचये च संविदात्मकेऽपि नियमेनान्यसुखप्रेक्षिणि संभवतीति स्थाय्येव चर्चणापात्रम् । तत्र पुरुषार्थनिष्ठाः काश्चित्संविद इति प्रधानम् । तद्यथा—रतिः कामे तदनुषङ्गिधर्मार्थनिष्ठा क्रोधस्तत्प्रधानेष्वर्थनिष्ठः, कामधर्मपर्यवसितोऽप्युत्साहः समस्तधर्मादिपर्यवसितः शमश्च मोक्षोपाय इति तावदेषां प्राधान्यम् । हासादीनां तु सातिशयं सकललोकसुलभाविभावतयोपरञ्जकत्वमिति प्राधान्यम् । अत एवानुत्तमप्रकृतिषु बाहुल्येन हासादयो भवन्ति । पामरप्रायः सर्वोऽपि हसति शोचति बिभेति परनिन्दामाद्रियते, स्वल्पसुभाषितत्वेन च सर्वत्र विस्मयेत । ख्यायङ्गतया तु पुमर्थोपयोगित्वमपि स्यादेषाम् । स्थायित्वं चैतावतामेव ॥ (अभिनवभारती, p. 283).

The sense of this lengthy, but important, quotation is:—A feeling or emotion which tends to help another cannot be called dominant. It will have to be designated as subordinate. Hence, all the विभाव<sup>s</sup> and व्यभिचारिभाव<sup>s</sup>, in spite of their being mental conditions, tend to run towards, or help to bring about the fullest development of other conditions which are called स्थायिभाव<sup>s</sup>. Hence स्थायिभाव<sup>s</sup> alone are the objects of enjoyment. Another reason for the predominance of स्थायिभाव<sup>s</sup> is that these emotional moods are directly connected with the 4 पुरुषार्थ<sup>s</sup>, viz. धर्म, अर्थ, काम and मोक्ष. For instance, रति is associated with काम, धर्म, and अर्थ; क्रोध with अर्थ; उत्साह, with काम and धर्म; शम with all the varieties of धर्म. As regards the remaining स्थायिभाव<sup>s</sup>, viz. हास, शोक, भय, जुगुप्सा and विस्मय, they are called predominant as they are found in almost all the ordinary people in the world. It is for this reason that their emotions are found in abundance in less cultured people. Even an uncivilised or uncultured person laughs, feels grief, is afraid, is fond of censuring others and feels wonder-struck. Again laughter, etc., being accessories to रति, etc., help indirectly towards the attainment of the पुरुषार्थ<sup>s</sup>. Thus, these eight are स्थायिभाव<sup>s</sup>.

Now, these dominant emotional moods or स्थायिभावः, when helped by appropriate, विभावः, अनुभावः and व्यभिचारिभावः, develop into रस, which is सर्वथा रसनात्मकवीनविघ्नप्रतीतिश्राद्धो भाव एव रसः (अभिनव-भारती, p. 281)—‘only the emotional mood revealed in a blissful knowledge, free from all barriers that are antagonistic to its realisation’ (Sankaran: Dhvani and Rasa, p. 105). The process by which these स्थायिभावः develop into रसः is thus—

When a सहृदय is reading or looking at a representation of some dramatic scene, ‘his mind becomes attuned to the situations represented, or, in other words, through his complete imaginative sympathy he identifies himself with the situations, and he realises his own emotion that has been stirred and developed to a climax, free from all limitations, and invariably accompanied by a thrill. This realisation is of the nature of pure joy, is not of the nature of a tangible object, is transcendental, is lasting only during the time of realisation and never beyond it and is different from the स्थायिभावः; and this is called रस’. (Sankaran: Rasa and Dhvani, p. 109).

Having thus tried to understand what रस is, let us come to our principal topic of हास्य. It is enumerated in the list of eight रसः in the following line of भरत—

शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणारौद्रवीरभयानकाः ।

बीभत्सान्द्रतसंज्ञौ चैत्यष्टौ नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ॥ (VI. 15).

But भरत recognises only four रसः as primary and regards others as born of them. He says—

शृङ्गाराद्धि भवेद्धास्यो रौद्राच्च करुणो रसः ।

वीराच्चैवाद्भुतोत्पत्तिर्बीभत्सान्द्र भयानकः ॥

शृङ्गारानुकृतिर्या तु स हास्यस्तु प्रकीर्तितः । (Ibid 44-45<sup>a</sup>)

Now, what is this relation of उत्पाद्योत्पादकभाव or हेतु, between the different रसः? अभिनवगुप्त thinks that शृङ्गार etc. are the हेतुs or सूचकs, that is, indicators and generators of हास्य etc. respectively. From शृङ्गार can spring either शृङ्गाराभास or शृङ्गारानुकार. From विभावाभास, अनुभावाभास and व्यभिचार्याभास, only रत्याभास (and not रति) can be manifested; and hence, the result will be शृङ्गाराभास. रति, when it is of the nature of a pure sensual desire, is a व्यभिचारिभाव

and not a स्थायिभाव. Hence, it is रत्याभास and not रति. For instance, रावण is not convinced that सीता hates him and shuns him. Were it so, he would never desire her. Nor, again, is he sure that she is attached to him; for, such a conviction, being based upon sensual infatuation, is of no use, like the infatuation of seeing silver in nacre. This रत्याभास leads to हास्य. But, it may be argued that it is not true that रत्याभास leads to laughter; for, in the following example of रत्याभास, laughter does not arise—

दूराकर्षणमोहमन्त्र इव ते तन्नाम्नि याते श्रुतिं  
चेतःकालकलामपि प्रसहते नावस्थितिं तां विना ।  
एतैराकुलितस्य विक्षतरतेरङ्गैरनङ्गातुरैः  
संपद्येत कथं तदाप्तिमुखमित्येतन्न वेद्मि स्फुटम् ॥

To this अभिनवगुप्त replies: Yes, I grant that if only this utterance of रावण is taken, then हास will not arise. But if the whole picture is taken into consideration, then हास must arise. Picture to yourself सीता as the विभाव, then the व्यभिचारिभाव-चिन्ता, दैन्य, मोह etc. which are opposed to रावण's age and nature, and the अनुभाव<sup>s</sup> like tears, bewailing, etc. Will not all this अनौचित्य or inappropriateness excite laughter? This entire picture will become the विभाव of हास्य, because of its अनौचित्य, inappropriateness, disproportion or impropriety, and will be covered by the definition—हास्यो नाम ..... विकृतपरवेष्टालंकारधाष्ट्यलौक्यकुहकासत्प्रलाप-व्यङ्गदर्शनदोषोदाहरणादिभावैरुत्पद्यते, given by भरत. Thus, शृङ्गार as a शृङ्गाराभास, becomes the generator of हास्य. And it is not the आभास of शृङ्गार alone that is the विभाव of हास्य, but the आभास of all the other रस<sup>s</sup>, viz., करुण, वीर, etc. For, the real essence of the विभाव of हास्य is अनौचित्य. And this अनौचित्य is possible in all the रस<sup>s</sup>, and their विभाव<sup>s</sup>, अनुभाव<sup>s</sup> and व्यभिचारिभाव<sup>s</sup>. Even शान्ताभास will lead to हास्य.—तेन करुणायामोषेष्वपि हास्यत्वं सर्वेषु मन्तव्यम् । अनौचित्यप्रवृत्ति-कृतमेव हि हास्यविभावकत्वम् । तच्चानौचित्यं सर्वरसानां विभावानुभावादौ संभाव्यते । (अभिनवभारती—p. 297 ).

अभिनवगुप्त gives an instance of हास्याभास even :—

तत्र हास्याभासो यथास्मत्पितृव्यस्य वामनगुप्तस्य—

लोकोत्तराणि चरितानि न लोक एष  
संमन्यते यदि किमङ्ग वदाम नाम ।  
यत्त्वत्तु ( ०त्र ? ) हासमुखरत्वममुष्य तेन  
पार्श्वोपपीडमिह को न विजाहसीति ॥

हेमचन्द्र's gloss on it is—अत्र यदाभिनन्दनविशेषो वस्तुनि लोकस्य हासमुखरन्ध्रं स हास्याभासः । किञ्चिद्वाचस्य तु हास्यत्वमेव ।

In fact, while explaining the विभाव<sup>s</sup> of हास्य, अभिनवगुप्त states—तत्र वेषः केशादिरचना, अलंकारः कटकादिः स चोभयोऽपि विकृतो देशकालायाकृतिययोऽवस्थाविपरिती हास्यस्य विभावः । एतेन सर्वे रसा हास्येऽन्तर्भूता इति दर्शितम् । अथ विदूषकोऽपि तद्वेषं विदधद्वास्याभासं प्रथयतीत्येतच्च प्रागेजोक्तम् । (अभिनवभारती p. 314). Thus every रस can be reduced to the position of हास्य.—एवं यो यस्य न चन्धुस्तच्छोके करुणोऽपि हास्य एवेति सर्वत्र योज्यम् (ibid. p. 297).

As to the second point of गृङ्गारानुकार, mentioned in the line गृङ्गारानुकृतिर्या तु स हास्यस्तु प्रकीर्तितः, अभिनवगुप्त says—गृङ्गारानुकृतिरित्यत्र तु-शब्दो वीप्सायाम् । द्वितीयो हेतौ । तेनैवं योजना—या या (second या supplied by me) अनुकृतिः स हास्यो यतः प्रकीर्तितः । एवं विभावको हास्य इति शेषः । तद्यथा गृङ्गार आर्यं गृङ्गारवत्यनुकृतिरित्यर्थः । Here, the uncertainty of the text does not allow us to arrive at the precise meaning. But the sense seems to be that every अनुकृति or imitation becomes the विभाव of हास्य, for instance, that of गृङ्गार. This explanation of अभिनवगुप्त appears to be more forced than even the previous one. For, the विभावत्व of all रसाभास<sup>s</sup> or रस<sup>s</sup> and of all रसानुकृति<sup>s</sup> goes directly against the text of भरत where गृङ्गार alone is considered to be the cause of हास्य. Most probably अभिनवगुप्त is not satisfied with the narrow stand which भरत has taken and, hence, he tries to explain the text in his own way. As to the probable reason of why गृङ्गार alone was ever considered as the cause or generator of हास्य, I shall come later.

Now I want to proceed with the exposition of हास्य and its divisions according to भरत. हास्य is of the nature of its स्थायिभाव—हास. The विभाव<sup>s</sup> of this रस are :—deformed dress or ornaments of another person, brazenness, fickleness, quarrel (कलह), indecent talk, showing of bodily deformity, finding of faults, etc. The अनुभाव<sup>s</sup> are movements of lips, nose and cheeks, expanding or contracting of the eyes, perspiration, reddening of face, pressing of sides, etc. The व्यभिचारिभाव<sup>s</sup> are:—languidity, dissimulation, torpor, sleep, dreaming, awakening envy, etc. It is of two varieties—आत्मस्थ and परस्थ. It is आत्मस्थ when caused by its own determinants, etc. It is परस्थ, where laughter is caused by another laughter. According to भरत, this रस is mostly found among women and persons of coarse nature. It is again of six kinds :—(1) स्मितम् (2) हसितम् (3) विहसितम्, (4) उपहसितम्, (5) अपहसितम्, and (6) अतिहसितम्. Of

these, स्मित and हसित belong to उत्तमप्रकृति or cultured people, विहसित and उपहसित to मध्यमप्रकृति, and अपहसित and अतिहसित to अधमप्रकृति or people of coarse nature.

स्मित is described as the smile in which there is a slight heaving up of cheeks, glances are charming and the teeth are not visible.

When the mouth and the eyes are raised up, cheeks are beaming with pleasure, and the teeth are also slightly visible, then it is called हसित.

When the eyes and cheeks are contracted, some sweet sound is also produced when there is an occasion for it, and the face is reddened, then it is called विहसित.

In उपहसित there is an elevation of the nose, eyes look sideways, and the shoulders and the head are contracted.

अपहसित is a laughter without occasion, in which eyes become watery and there is a violent shaking of the shoulders and the head.

When there is an agitation of the eyes and tears flow from them copiously, when there is a sort of wildness accompanied by shrill screams, and both sides are pressed with hands, it is अतिहसित.

Of these six varieties, स्मित, विहसित and अपहसित are आत्मस्थ or स्वसमुत्थ—स्वसमुत्थ इत्यसंक्रान्तः स्मितविहसितापहसितलक्षणः (अभिनवभारती, p. 317), and हसित, उपहसित and अतिहसित are परस्थ or परसमुत्थ—परसमुत्थः संक्रान्तो हसितोपहसितातिहसितरूपः (ibid.). Let me illustrate the आत्मस्थ and परस्थ varieties by examples given by हेमचन्द्र (काव्यानु p. 115).

तत्रात्मस्थो यथा—

पाणौ कङ्कणमुत्फणः फणितिनैत्रं ज्वलत्पावकं  
कण्ठःकूटितकालकूटकुटिलो वस्त्रं गजेन्द्राजिनम् ।  
गौरीलोचनलोभनाय सुभगो वेषो वरस्यैव मे  
गण्डोल्लासविभावितः पशुपतेर्हास्योद्गमः पातु वः ॥

परस्थो यथा—

कनककलशस्वच्छे राधापयोधरमण्डले  
नवजलधरदयामामात्मयुतिं प्रतिबिम्बिताम् ।  
असितसिचयप्रान्तभ्रान्त्या मुहुर्मुहुर्दुःखिपन्  
जयति जनितव्रीडाहासः प्रियाहासितो हरिः ॥



अभिनवयुत criticises those who understand by आत्मस्थ and परस्थ as—  
आत्मस्थैर्विभावैर्विक्तवेषादिभिर्विदूषकः स्वयं हसति, स तस्यात्मस्थः, देवां च हासयतीति  
तस्याः परस्थः—तदिदमसत् । etc.

भरत again divides हास्य as threefold, depending on the representation of the अनुभावः by limbs, dress or speech—अङ्गनेपथ्यवाक्येश्च हास्यरौद्रौ त्रिधा स्मृतौ ( VI. 97 ).

I would now like to point out that rhetoricians have shown scant courtsey to this रस. All what भोज says about it in his सरस्वती-कण्ठाभरण is that although there are several varieties of हास, viz. उपहासं etc., yet they are covered by विहासित, which may be ranged into three grades of rising intensity. He gives their names as स्मित, हसित and विहासित, ( footnote 3, p. 608, निर्णयसागर edn. of 1934 ). शारदातनय, the author of भावप्रकाशन ( Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XLV ) is more deferential and also allots more space than other rhetoricians. One of the most interesting points that he discusses is about the origin of हास्य from शृङ्गार. He says that according to व्यास, all the रसः are depicted in the drama त्रिपुरदाह describing the heroic and otherwise activities of Lord शिव. It was composed by ब्रह्मा and was handed over to the भरतः for staging. We read there :—

जटाजिनधरो भोगिभूषणः साग्निलोचनः ।

भस्माङ्गरागश्च यदा देव्या कामयते रतिम् ॥

तदा सखीनां देव्याश्च हासः समुदभून्महान् ।

तस्माद्धास्यसमुत्पत्तिः शृङ्गारादिति कथ्यते ॥ ( p. 57, ll. 12-15 ).

भरत describes the विभावः and अनुभावः of each रस, but not the व्यभिचारिभावः. But शारदातनय does. Let us see what are the व्यभिचारिन् of हास्य according to him :—

शङ्का त्रपा चपलता भ्रमो ग्लानिरपत्रपा ।

हर्षप्रबोधावहित्यस्वेदाश्चुलका अपि ॥

हास्येऽमी—

( p. 33, ll. 9-11 ).

At one place शारदातनय gives an interesting theory regarding the origin of रसः as described in the योगमालासंहिता. According to this theory, रस is nothing but a change in the form of अहंकार. " When अहंकार through its अभिमानवृत्ति and sense-organs, comes into contact with the outward phenomena, it obtains the form of रस with all its different manifestations in accordance with the

three qualities of सत्त्व, रजस् and तमस्, with which the अहंकार is endowed. In other words the रस is a मनोवृत्ति or emotion." (Introduction, p. 37).—यतोऽष्टधा मनोवृत्तिः सभ्यानां नाट्यकर्मणि (p. 46, l. 21). Now, रति, according to this theory is:—

मनोऽनुकूलेष्वर्थेषु सुखसंवेदनात्मिका ।

इच्छा रतिः, सा द्विधा स्याद्रतिप्रीतिविभागतः ॥ (p. 34, ll. 11-12).

The desire of pleasurable sensation towards objects towards which the mind feels a liking, i. e., which are favourable to the mind, is called रति ; it is of two kinds, रति and प्रीति.

प्रीतिर्विशेषश्चित्तस्य विकासो हास उच्यते ।

षोढा विकल्पमायाति परिणामो रसात्मना ॥ (ibid, ll. 21-22).

From प्रीति arises a sort of expansion of the mind and it is called हास, which when developed into a रस, becomes sixfold. This indicates that the author of योगमालासंहिता also believed in हास्य as originating from शृङ्गार. This is further explained according to योगमालासंहिता as follows :— The विभाव<sup>s</sup> of शृङ्गार are ललित, charming. But when the ललिताभास (or apparently charming) विभाव<sup>s</sup> along with the other beautifying भाव<sup>s</sup> and the proper (सत्त्व) अभिनय<sup>s</sup> develop the स्थायिभाव, then the mind of the audience becomes slightly touched by रजस् and तमस्. The resultant modification of consciousness is called हास्य—

यदा तु ललिताभासा भावैः स्वोत्कर्षहेतुभिः ।

सत्त्वादिभिश्चाभिनयैः स्थायिनं वर्धयन्ति ते ॥

तदा मनः प्रेक्षकाणां रजःस्पृष्टं तमोन्वयि ।

चैतन्याश्रयि तत्रत्यो विकारो यः प्रवर्तते ॥

स हास्यरस इत्याख्यां लभते रस्यते च तैः । (p. 44, ll. 1-5).

But according to नारद, says शारदातनय,

बाह्यार्थालम्बनवतो मनसो रजसि स्थितात् ।

साहंकाराद्विकारो यः स शृङ्गार इतीरितः ॥

तस्मादेव रजोहीन्यसत्त्वाद्धास्यसंभवः ॥ (p. 47, ll. 13-15)

in हास्य, the mind is free from रजोगुण, and endowed with सत्त्वगुण.

Coming now to the types of dramas—रूपक<sup>s</sup> or उपरूपक<sup>s</sup>—, wherein हास्य is the dominating रस, शारदातनय gives two varieties—प्रहसन and कल्पवल्ली. While भरत gives only two varieties of प्रहसन, viz., शुद्ध and संकीर्ण ( ना० शा० XX. 106-108), our author, following

the दशरूपक ( III. 55-58 ) gives three varieties, viz., शुद्ध, विकृत and संकीर्ण. According to भरत, the शुद्ध type should have humorous speeches of भगवत्, तापस, भिक्षु, श्रोत्रिय and विप्र. The characters should be low ; it should be full of humorous speeches ; it should have no विकृत language ; the plot should move towards a fixed goal ( नियतगतिवस्तुविषय ). The संकीर्ण variety should have the low characters like वेद्या, चेट, नपुंसक, धूर्त, विट, बन्धकी, etc. ; it should have अनिभृत, i. e., coarse dress, etc. The plot of a प्रहसन should be based on some popular story or a story full of दम्भ. It should also contain the quarrels of धूर्त, विट, etc. The संकीर्ण variety may have the वीथ्यङ्ग<sup>s</sup> also, which are enumerated in the lines—उद्घात्यका-बलागते त्ववस्कन्दितमेव च । etc. ( ना० शा० XX. 118-119 ).

The विकृत variety of दशरूपक is the same as the संकीर्ण of भरत, except that it has no वीथ्यङ्ग<sup>s</sup>. शारदातनय says that in a प्रहसन, there should be two संधि<sup>s</sup>, one act and six रस<sup>s</sup>. The presence of six रस<sup>s</sup>, which, of course, must be subordinated to हास्य, is a peculiarity mentioned by no other writer.

रसस्तु श्रूयसा कार्यः षट्प्रकारस्ततस्ततः ।

मुखं निर्वहणं चैव संधी द्वावस्य कीर्तितौ ॥

अङ्कोऽप्येको भवेद्यस्य तनु प्रहसनं भवेत् ।

सैरन्धिका स्यात्संकीर्णा शुद्धा सागरकौमुदी ॥

कालिकेलि प्रहसनं यत्तद्वैकृतमुच्यते ॥ ( p. 247, ll. 10-14 ).

According to साहित्यदर्पण, a प्रहसन should have मुख and निर्वहणसंधि<sup>s</sup>, the ten लास्याङ्ग<sup>s</sup> and one act. It should have no आरभटी वृत्ति, no विष्कम्भक, nor प्रवेशक. It may or may not have वीथ्यङ्ग<sup>s</sup> and its संकीर्ण variety may have even two acts.

The रसार्णवसुधाकर of शिङ्गभूपाल ( T. S. S. No. L ) lays down that a प्रहसन should have the following ten elements—

अवलगितमवस्कन्दो व्यवहारो विप्रलम्भमुपपत्तिः ।

भयममृतं विभ्रान्तिर्गद्गदवाक् च प्रलापश्च ॥ ( p. 290 ).

He illustrates them at great length. I shall quote the illustration of प्रलाप as a sample.

प्रलापः स्याद्योग्यस्य योग्यत्वेनानुमोदनम् ।

यथा तत्रैव ( आनन्दकोशनाम्नि ) प्रहसने—

राजा— ( सौदायोंद्रेकम् ) अये विडालाक्ष ! अस्मदीये नगरे विषये च---

पतिहीना च या नारी जायाहीनश्च यः पुमान् ।  
तौ दम्पती यथाकामं भवेतामिति घोष्यताम् ॥  
विडालाक्षः—देवः प्रमाणम् ( इति सानुचरो निष्क्रान्तः ) ।  
गुह्यग्राही ( सश्लाघागौरवम् )

मष्टाश्व-भग्नशकट-न्यायेन प्रतिपादितम् ।  
उचिता ते महाराज ! सेयं कारुण्यघोषणा ॥

अपिच—

मन्वादयो महीपालाः शतशो गामपालयन् ।  
न केनापि कृतो मार्ग एवमाश्चर्यसौख्यदः ॥ ( pp. 296-297 ).

Here the royal command, although improper, is praised as proper by the minister गुह्यग्राहिन् .

Now I come to कल्पवल्ली, a humorous variety of उपरूपक<sup>s</sup> given by शारदातनय. This variety is not mentioned by any other writer. It may have हास्य or शृङ्गार as its main रस. The heroine should be वासकसज्जा or अभिसारिका, and the hero उदान्त. It should have ten लास्याङ्ग<sup>s</sup>. This characteristic seems to have been borrowed for his प्रहसन by विश्वनाथ from शारदातनय. शारदातनय mentions माणिक्यवल्लिका as a work representing this type.

Unfortunately, we possess only a few प्रहसन<sup>s</sup> in Sanskrit Literature. They are दामरु, नाटवाट, भगवदज्जुक, लटकमेलक, हास्यार्णव, मत्त-विलास, etc. ( For a detailed account of these works see D. R. Mankad. The types of Sanskrit Drama, Karachi, 1936, pp. 62-69 ). Names only of other प्रहसन<sup>s</sup> are preserved to us in such works as भावप्रकाशन, रसार्णवसुधाकर etc.

But we find a flash of हास्य here and there in the entire Sanskrit Literature, Vedic as well as Classical.<sup>1</sup> In Sanskrit Dramas, हास्य occupies an important place. The sauce of drama is supplied by विदूषक and his utterances.

Now I want to deal with the problem—why शृङ्गार is so important a रस and how far can it be considered to be the cause of हास्य ?

शारदातनय says that the end of all human emotions is सुख. भोग or enjoyment is the means to that सुख.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. N. C. Kelkar has traced a number as such passages from ऋग्वेद, down to Classical Literature in his हास्यविनोदमीमांसा ( in Marathi, Poona 1937 ) and I shall recommend a perusal of this important work to all the सहृदय<sup>s</sup>.

संभोगे चापि सर्वत्र जन्तूनां मानसी रतिः ।

वर्तते मुख्यया वृत्त्या यूनोरेव सरागयोः ॥

All people find mental pleasure in enjoyment. And this is more true of a youthful couple in love. Now, let me proceed in the author's own words, as they will bear no translation :—

भोग्यद्रव्योपभोगो यः स भोग इति गण्यते ।

उपभोगः स एव स्यात् देशकालसंमेषितः ॥

कामोपचारः संभोगः, कामः स्त्रीपुंसयोः सुखम् ।

सुखमानन्दसंभेदः परस्परविमर्दजः ॥

उपचारस्तदानन्दकारकं कर्म कथ्यते ।

सुखाश्रयाः स्युः प्रमदास्तासामामोदकारकः ।

यतः गृङ्गार एवैकस्तस्मादेषं सुविस्तरम् ।

कथ्यते शास्त्रदृष्टेन वर्त्मना चानुभूतितः ॥ (p. 77, ll. 5-15).

रति is essential for the creative impulse of man in this universe. And it is the रथायिभाव of गृङ्गार; hence गृङ्गार is the most important emotion. It is a recognised fact that the most important and the foremost necessity of man is food; and the next important thing for man is love. Hence, those who consider that the faculty of वात्सल्य or affection for the offspring has a precedence over love or रति, are not correct. For, वात्सल्य can come into being only after the offspring has come into being. अभिनवगुप्त also stresses the importance of गृङ्गार in the following words—तत्र कामस्य सकलजातिसुलभतया अत्यन्तपरिचितत्वेन सर्वान् प्रति हृद्यतेति पूर्वं गृङ्गारः । (अभिनव-भारती, p. 269).

I think that considerations like these must have prevailed with Sanskrit writers who gave so prominent a place to गृङ्गार. I am not entering into the question whether their view-point is correct or otherwise.<sup>1</sup>

Nowhere does the theory of गृङ्गार being the origin of हास्य get a clearer or more prominent support than in the रसार्णवसुधाकर (pp. 74ff.). According to its author, कैशिकीदृष्टि, the life-essence of which is music, dance and love, has four elements in it—(1) नर्म (2) नर्मस्फोट, (3) नर्मस्फञ्ज and (4) नर्मगर्भ. The first variety नर्म is defined as परिहास which is not ग्राम्य or coarse. This नर्म may be caused by गृङ्गारहास्य, शुद्धहास्य, or भयहास्य. The गृङ्गारहास्यज नर्म is of 9 kinds and is defined as—

<sup>1</sup> To those who are interested in this aspect of the problem, I would again refer the हास्यविनोदमीमांसा of Mr. Kelkar.

संभोगेच्छाप्रकटनादनुरागनिवेदनात् ।  
तथा कृतापराधस्य प्रियस्य प्रतिभेदनात् ॥  
संभोगेच्छाप्रकटनं त्रिधा वाग्वेषचेष्टितैः ।  
अनुरागप्रकाशोऽपि भोगेच्छानर्मवत् त्रिधा ।  
प्रियापराधनिर्भेदोऽप्युक्तत्रेधा तथा बुधैः ॥

शुद्धहास्यजननं is of three kinds.—

शुद्धहास्यजमप्युक्तं तद्वदेव त्रिधा बुधैः ।

भयहास्यज is of 4 kinds—

हास्याद् भयेन सहिताज्जनितं भयहास्यजम् ।

तद् द्विधा मुख्यमङ्गं च तद्द्वयं पूर्ववत् त्रिधा ॥

Thus, 18 kinds of नर्म are described here. Out of the 18 illustrations of these varieties (to be more correct, I should say 16, as two of them are missing), the वाचा शुद्धहास्यजं नर्म and वाचा मुख्यं भयहास्यजं नर्म have nothing to do with शृङ्गार. These illustrations are :—

तत्र वाचा शुद्धहास्यजं यथा—

आर्चिष्मन्ति विदार्य वक्त्रकुहराण्यासृक्तो वासुके-  
स्तर्जन्या विषकर्बुरान् गणयतः संस्पृश्य दन्ताङ्कुरान् ।  
एकं त्रीणि नवाष्ट सप्त षडिति व्यत्यस्तसंख्याक्रमा  
वाचः क्रौञ्चरिपोः शिशुत्वविकलाः श्रेयांसि पुष्पन्तु व ॥ ( p. 78 ).

मुख्यं भयहास्यजं यथा—

क्षेत्राधीशशुना नवेन विकृताकारैकविद्वेषिणा  
घोराराममभिद्रुतस्य विकटेः पश्चात् पदैर्गच्छतः ।  
पा पा पाहि हि हीति सत्वरतरं व्यस्ताक्षरं जल्पतो  
दृष्ट्वा भृङ्गिरिटेर्दशां पशुपतिः स्मेराननः पातु वः ॥

अत्र भृङ्गिरिटेर्विकृताकारेण विकटपश्चाद्गमनेन पाहि पाहीत्यत्र वर्णत्रय (?) व्यत्यासेन भाषणेन च जनितस्य पशुपतिहासस्य अन्यरसाङ्गतया मुख्यं भयहास्यजम् । ( p. 79 ).

Still, so many varieties do strengthen the case of हास्य being derived from शृङ्गार.

It is not within the province of this lecture to discuss the various theories about the origin of laughter as advanced by modern scholars here or in the west. I shall conclude with this remark that of all the theorists and writers in Sanskrit none seems to have arrived at the true cause of हास्य nearer than अभिनवगुप्त, who says—

अनौचित्यप्रवृत्तिकृतमेव हि हास्यविभावदम् तच्चा नौचित्यं सर्वरसानां  
विभावानुभावादी संभाव्यते ॥

इति शम् ॥

## A WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPT

New Light thrown on the fragmentary Tibetan version of the  
Vimuktimārga

BY

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In my article published (1935) in the Volume (pp. 131-135) of the Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda, I have described my discovery of a Tibetan version of the third chapter of Vimuktimārga or Vimuttimaggā, which corresponds to the second chapter on 'Dhutagūṇas or purifying practices' of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimaggā. The title of this third chapter as given in this Tibetan version is 'Vimuktimārga-dhutagūṇa-nirdeśa'. I have shown in that article that this Tibetan version contains, as was seen from the manuscripts then available to me, several extracts from Mahāyāna works in addition to the text corresponding to the third chapter of the Vimuttimaggā. I then briefly mentioned some of the texts from which the quotations were given and remarked "These texts do not seem to have any inherent connection with the latter half of the book which alone forms the real subject of the text, namely the purifying practices (p. 133)."

I was constantly in search of other manuscripts of the Text and I obtained, for collation, the relevant volume of the Tibetan Kanjur from the Theosophical Society's Library at Adyar, Madras, and a photostat from the State Library of Berlin. Both these copies substantially corroborated the composition of the text as was found in the Viśvabhāratī Library at Śāntiniketan. I also wrote to Prof. W. E. Clark--whose help I gladly acknowledge with gratitude--of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. U. S. A. After some unavoidable delay, he sent me photostats of two different versions of the text—one from Kanjur which I call W1, another from Tanjur which I call W2--from the Library of Congress, Washington. He also wrote to me that the Washington edition was the Choni edition.

While using these two copies, the first thing that struck me was that W1 was much shorter ( 131a<sup>1</sup>-139a<sup>4</sup> ) than the other W2 ( 159a<sup>8</sup>-174b<sup>3</sup> ) and for that matter than all the other texts available to me ( A, Adyar Library 199a-218a<sup>1</sup> ; B, Berlin State Library 178a-193b<sup>7</sup>, S, Śāntiniketana Library 199a-217b ).

I also later discovered that the Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons ( ed. by Prof. H. Ui, Prof. M. Suzuki and two others ) published by the Tohoku Imperial University, aided by Saito Gratitude Foundation, Sendai, Japan, did mention two texts—

( i ) Under Bkaḥ-hgyur, 5th section Mdo-Sde, no. ( Sa 131b<sup>1</sup>-139a<sup>4</sup> ).

( ii ) Under Bstan-Hgyur, section 10 Hdul-ba, no. 4143 ( Su 161b<sup>2</sup>-172b<sup>1</sup> ).

The former, as it appears from the numbering of the folios, seems to be the same as our W1.

On looking further closely into W1 text, I was overjoyed to note that it did not contain a single extract from among those of the Mahāyāna texts which were found in all the other available manuscripts ( A, B, S, W2 ). These extracts were, as I have already said above, suspected to be out of place, having no inherent connection with the latter half of the text, which alone formed the real subject matter of the book. When divested of this extraneous matter of the quotations<sup>1</sup> from Mahāyāna texts, the whole of the Tibetan version closely agrees with the Chinese version and thus confirms our surmise that “ both the Tibetan and Chinese versions had the same original ” ( p. 133 of the Proceedings Vol. referred to above at the beginning ).

We are reproducing on the accompanying plate facsimiles nos 1 and 2, of the relevant lines from the Berlin photostat indicating respectively by the sign ┐ the points where the long un-

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<sup>1</sup> These extracts are perhaps quoted from the Sūtrasamuccaya. I notice that most of the Sūtras from which the quotations are given here are mentioned by Mr. Anukulachandra Banerjee ( pp. 123-24 ) in his list of the Sūtras quoted in the Sūtrasamuccaya and they come almost in the same order in which they are found in our interpolated passage. For this see Mr. Banerjee's article on Sūtrasamuccaya in Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVII, No. 1 ( March, 1941 ), pp. 121-126.



wanted passage begins and ends; no. 3 of the continuous matter, without interpolations, as found in W1; and no. 4 giving the relevant portion from the Chinese version which confirms the continuity of the passage as found in W1. In facsimile no. 3 also, we have indicated by the same sign [ ] the point where other copies insert the interpolated passage.

This insertion comes soon after the beginning of the Text which opens thus:—

“Then the Yogāvacara who has possessed the pure conduct (as mentioned before) desires to attain the perfection of his practices. If he desires to secure this quality (guṇa), he must have properly grasped and must continue to grasp the practices of purity (dhutaṇas). The practice<sup>1</sup> of the Yogāvacara, when the dhutaṇas are properly grasped by him, comes to be specified in various ways:—

[ Here the long interpolated passage begins; but to continue as in W1 without that interpolation ]

He has little desire, has contentment, practises diminishing (worldly) wants,<sup>1</sup> is strenuous,...has knowledge, has completely cut off yearning. Here he is well-guarded in his conduct, appears to be in (the possession of) Samādhiskandha and Noble Lineage (Ārya-Vamśa) and is found to be (possessing) most excellent qualities (guṇas).’ Thus it does give good meaning in a continuous passage.

Let us see what the Chinese version (which corroborates this continuity of the passage) says:—

“Question—Then the Yogāvacara of pure conduct (already acquired), desiring in mind to possess the quality of perfection, further wishes to attain the practices of purity (dhutaṇas). In order to attain the possession (of perfection) why is it necessary to attain the dhutaṇas?<sup>2</sup>

Answer—In order to (satisfy) the different natures of a Yogāvacara, in order to have little desire, to have contentment, to entertain no doubts (in mind), to destroy craving, to increase strenuousness and efforts, ..... to cut off attachment, one has to observe and guard one’s conduct properly. Herein lie requisites of the Samādhi. This is the first Noble Lineage (Ārya-Vamśa).





This should be considered as quality of perfection. What are the dhutas? They are of thirteen kinds, two connected with clothes'....."

This Chinese text leaves no room for doubt. There is no occasion for the interpolation. If we read the text with the interpolation we become aware of some awkwardness caused by an abrupt intrusion with the result that the sentence in which the parts do not fit in well yields no sense. What can we make out of the following? —

"The Yogāvacara's practice,<sup>2</sup> when the dhutagūṇas are properly grasped by him, is of various kinds; it possesses an imagined nature(?); in this thought some stupid fools are not clear(?)" Or, as it may also be rendered—

"The Yogāvacara's practice, when the dhutagūṇas are properly grasped by him, possesses a variously imagined nature(?); in this thought some stupid fools are not clear(?)" We get no sense out of this.

This abruptness of the passage becomes still more manifest at the end. Towards the end of this interpolated passage, there is given a quotation from the Ākāśagarbhasūtra giving in detail the five root-sins (mūlapatti) of a crowned Kṣatriya. Then begins another passage<sup>3</sup> which purports to give similarly five root-sins of a minister. The first two root-sins are given in detail and a beginning of the third has perhaps been also made. Then the passage abruptly ends. It is then switched on to 'having little desire, having contentment, diminishing of wants, strenuousness etc.' See how it reads:—

"Further the minister who gives up the dharma has in the disciple's going out (of the world)...[the interpolation ends]... desire, contentment,<sup>3</sup> etc." This leaves no doubt about the interpolation.

When divested of this interpolation (which is equal to about two fifths of the whole text) the Tibetan version agrees with the Chinese version, a detailed summary of which I have already given in my *Vimuttimagga* and *Visuddhimagga* (pp. 16-25). Readers will kindly refer to the same.

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<sup>1</sup> Facsimile No. 4 ends here. <sup>2</sup> Facsimile No. 1. 3-3 Facsimile No. 2.

## MISCELLANEA

### VASIṢṬHA'S REMORSE OVER THE DEATH OF HIS SON

( New light on R̥gvedic Hymn VII. 86 )

BY

A. P. KARMARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

It cannot be gainsaid that the Epics and Purāṇas have acted as the direct carriers of traditions from the remotest times. Early in the twenties of the present century the learned Savant Par-giter first made an attempt towards the reconstruction of the history of the pre-Bhārata and post-Bhārata war dynasties. The recent discoveries on the sites of Mohenjo Daro and other places have created another fruitful source of investigation. In fact, as we have shown elsewhere, numerous accounts can be obtained in the Purāṇic and other allied literature in regard to the socio-religious activities of the Minas and other tribes-which are just in keeping with what is detailed in the picto-phonographic inscriptions ( as deciphered by Father H. Heras, S. J.) obtaining on the above sites. Eventually it is no wonder if there have also crept in traditions in regard to the episodes in the lives of the R̥gvedic peoples, who flourished in the intermediate period.

#### *Vasiṣṭha's calamity*

Hymn No. 86 ( Maṇḍala VII ) of the R̥gveda indicates that Vasiṣṭha was really in a serious plight when he prayed Varuṇa for rescue. The pertinent stanzas in regard to the same are as follows :

“ And I thus say to myself ; when shall I be beloved of Varuṇa ? Would he accept my offering without being angry ? When joyous at heart, shall I experience his mercy ? 2.

“ With a desire to know what that sin is, Varuṇa, I go to those that know in order to put them questions. The wise ones have one common reply to make. It is this Varuṇa who is angry with thee. 3.

"Release us from the unrighteous acts of our fathers, release us from those that have been committed by ourselves. Release, Oh King, Vasiṣṭha like a thief who steals cattle like a calf from its father. 5.

"It was not my volitional act, Varuṇa, it was temptation, wine, anger, unreason; there is mightier one to actuate the lapses of a feeblar one. *Sleep itself does not banish sin.* 6.

"Free from sin, I would serve like a servant the bounteous, impetuous God-the noble God that has made the thoughtless wise. With his greater wisdom he speeds the wise man to wealth." 7.

Then follows a general prayer to Varuṇa for protection and blessings.

*Geldner's view*—Geldner is of opinion that the story narrated in the Bṛhaddevatā must have acted as the background of this Hymn. The story is summarised in Peterson's edition of the Rgvedic Selections. The story runs as follows: 'Vasiṣṭha stole into Varuṇa's house at night. Varuṇa's dog attacked him, but was silenced along with other followers by Vasiṣṭha. Then Varuṇa bound Vasiṣṭha with his snares, whereupon Vasiṣṭha prayed to his father Varuṇa and was released.'

*The story related in the Mahābhārata*

The story narrated in the Bṛhaddevatā seems to be fabulous and rather a pure creation, especially when compared to the account given in the Mahābhārata. The Hymn itself indicates that there are two points to be taken into consideration, namely, that Vasiṣṭha has actually committed a sin, and that he is trying to be free from the snares of Varuṇa.

In our opinion the Mahābhārata seems to have rightly preserved the tradition of the episode when it details :

एषा रम्या विपाशा च नदी परमपावनी ॥ ८ ॥

अत्र वै पुत्रशोकेन वसिष्ठो भगवानृषिः ॥

बद्ध्वात्मानं निपतितो विपाशः पुनरुत्थितः ॥ ९ ॥<sup>1</sup>

Thus it was the son's death that seems to have made Vasiṣṭha to go even to the length of drowning himself into the waters of

<sup>1</sup> *Vanaparva*, Adh. 132.

16 [ *Annals*, B. O. R. I. ]

the River Vipās. But as the Hymn indicates Vasistha is actually praying Varuṇa to free him from the sin committed by him. What was that sin which made him to plunge into the waters ? We think the expression ' *Vipāśaḥ Punar-utthitaḥ* ' ( Vs. above ) as read with the Hymn, would give us the right clue, namely, that Vasistha himself was partly responsible for the death of his son. Otherwise how could the wise sage utter these following words :

न स स्वो दक्षो वरुण ध्रुतिः सा  
 सुरा म॒न्युर्विभीद॑को अ॒र्चितिः ।  
 अस्ति॑ ज्यायान्कन॑यिस उ॒पारे  
 स्वप्न॑श्च॒नेद॑नृतस्य प्रयो॒ता ॥ ( ऋग्वेद ७, ८६, ६ ॥

( cf. Trans. above )

It should also be noted in this connection, that the close association of Vasistha with the river Vipās ( Mahābhārata version ) rather reminds us of his strife with Viśvāmitra, who is responsible for the composition of the Hymn addressed to the rivers Vipās and Śatudri.

## REVIEWS

RĀMĀYANA AND LANĶĀ, Parts I and II, by T. Paramshiv  
Iyer, Bungalow City, (Printed at Bungalow Press, 1940 ).

In this work the author identifies LanĶā with the Trikūṭa cum Suvela Hill, that is the Indrana Hill in the Sehora Tahsil of the Jubbulpore District of the Central Provinces ( pp. 32 and 17 respectively ). The book consists of 152 pages and is embellished with maps. It is regrettable that the grounds on which the author bases his conclusion are disjointed, uncritical, wrong in certain particulars and therefore unconvincing. There are also many repetitions, as in the case of Yojanas ( for instance pp. XLII 24, 4-5, 37 and 38 ). The part II of the book contains sound matter and his interpretation of the Yojanas, and the location of the LanĶā, as given in the astronomical works, on the equator, at Lingga Island in the Dutch Rĳo Lingga Archæpelogo, extending from Singapur to the North of the Indragiri Riverian Sumatra, are original and convincing.

The occasion which provoked the author to write the book was Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore's speech made in June 1934 and published in the Hindu saying that Ceylon was Rāvaṇa's LanĶā ( p. XXVII ). On the next page the writer says that he wrote the first chapter of the book in 1934.

On page XXXIII, and the next one, the author proceeds to describe and criticise my alleged theory of the location of Rāvaṇa's LanĶā near Maheshwar on the Narmadā in the Indore State. I have done nothing of the kind. I have located LanĶā on the Amarkaṇṭaka near the source of the Narmadā. The theory which he criticises was propounded, in a newspaper article, by the late Mr. Vishnupant Karandikar, to whose credit stands the discovery and excavation of an ancient site on the South Bank of the Narmadā, almost opposite to Maheshwar, which is perhaps as old as Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. This is an instance of the method employed by the author.

I first propounded my theory in 1914, in the article contributed



to the Indian Review of Madras. In 1919 I rewrote it, with some amendments, and submitted a printed pamphlet to the First All India Conference of the Orientalists held at Poona. However, whether owing to its bulk, or perhaps to the unconviction of the Editor, it was not published in the proceedings of the Conference. Then I resubmitted it in a revised form to the XVII International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford which is referred to in its proceedings, as having been published in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. IV, 1928 ( pp. 693. 7. 2 ). In it I gave the distance, based on the stanzas in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, between Citrakūṭa and Kiṣkindhā, which I located in the north Vindhya range as 98 miles having located it in the South of Rewa State. Then in 1935 I submitted another paper to the XIX Congress Internazionale degli Orientalisti held at Rome in September, 1935 and which was published in its proceeding at pp. 361, 373, and reprinted in A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XVII pp. 371, 384, 1936. In it I described the route taken by Rāvaṇa to Pañcavaṭī from the Laṅkā located by me in my previous paper and almost the same route taken by Rāma, via Kiṣkindhā. Attached to my paper entitled "Inhabitants of the Country Around Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā in Amarkaṇṭaka" (published in "A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F. W. Thomas, C. I. E." ) is a map prepared by me on the basis of two previous papers already referred to. In another paper "Cultural descendants of Rāvaṇa " which will shortly appear, I have identified the Gonds with them. In A. B. O. R. I., ( Vol. XIX pp. 84ff ) and in a New Indian Antiquary; Vol. I, October 1938, Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, Mr. J. C. Ghosh has adduced support to my location from Paurāṇik sources. Our author seems to be ignorant of all this research.

The thesis of the author of the book under review is given in chapter II, pp. 15 and 16. He observes "the results of geographical research beginning from Trikūṭa and Suvēla Hills, and ending at the Western shore of the Lake Pampā." According to the text, the way to Trikūṭa lay across the Pampā Lake besides R̥ṣyamukha Hill and through the Mahendragiri pass." It may be noted that he has not quoted the text of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa in support of the statements underlined. He simply goes on to say "If these land marks ( Pampā to Trikūṭa ) can be

identified on the Topo maps, consistently with their description and relative positions in the text and if non-Aryan tribes answering to the Rakṣas and Vānaras, can be found in the region about Trikūṭa" his theory is established. Obviously with the absence of the evidence to the important assertions as already pointed out, this is certainly very flimsy foundation on which to make correct identifications of sites described in ancient histories.

The author and myself have given proofs that the geography as given by Vālmiki of the Rāma's route of exile to Citrakūṭa, or even to Śarabhaṅga's Āśrama, which is marked by me, in my map, as the colony of Rṣis, identifying it with modern sites ( pp. XXXII and 101 ), is correct. I agree with the author that Vālmiki has correctly described the distances and the halting places on the route of Rāma's journey up to Citrakūṭa hills or Śarabhaṅga's Āśrama. In an article published in the Marathi Magazine "Sahyadri" ( Poona ) July 1938 ( pp. 532, 535 ) I have shown that even the distances given in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, of sites of Lakṣmaṇa's journey to Vālmiki's āśrama, as well as Śatrughna's route to Mathurā, if not the approximate contiguity of the Country of the Vānaras, to Ayodhyā and of the Rakṣasas to it, are physically and geographically correct. But the author deviates from Vālmiki's route from Śarabhaṅga's Āśrama. The description given by him in chapter IV, and subsequent ones, are unsupported by the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa and are imaginary, having been based on the descriptions in the maps of the topographical survey, without any personal observation. The features are common to many places and are not as peculiar as on my route. Cunningham's Archaeological Report also mentions many places on that route as connected with Rāma. A journey on the road leading from Damoh to Jubbulpore would have convinced the author that his descriptions and identifications were cloudy. He has made much of the mention of Narmadā in the description of the South given by Sugrīva to the party proceeding in that direction, but a perusal of it in the text will show its spuriousness and probably the whole thing being a later interpolation, I have not mentioned Narmadā as coming in the way to Laṅkā, as it is no where else mentioned, because my route passed by

that river at its source, where it is an insignificant stream. In order to prove the correctness of his route the author has repeated the same statements over again. The Pravarsan Hill is really the Amarakaṇṭhaka, from which the rivers like the Narmadā and the Śoṇa issue and it cannot be the Hill referred to by the author, from which quite insignificant streams issue. His identifications of existing places like the fort of Singrur as R̥ṣymukha and the pointing out of an ascetic's house in that area as being contemporary with a habitation of Rāma's times (p. 90), without even a tradition to support it, are ridiculous. It is not clear to me why in opposition to the route described in milage i. e. Yojanas from Citrakūṭa to Kiṣkindhā by Vālmiki, he insists on this deviation to the South-West. I placed Kiṣkindhā to the North of Vindhya, immediately to the south of which, beyond a valley full of water, so vast as to look like a sea, is Lankā on a peak. As pointed out by the late Dr. Hiralal, there are three peaks or Kūṭas in that locality. The author, Mr. Iyer, is not at all clear about Kiṣkindhā and what he calls it as such is certainly not to the north of Vindhyas, immediately to the South of which is Lankā.

In his main thesis, the author undertakes to identify landmarks between Trikūṭa and Pampā but in the preface (p. XXXVIII) he refers to a cart track between Rāma's Pañcavati and Rāvaṇas Lankā. Moreover the reference in the Āraṇya Sarga, 54, verse 5, does not warrant that the Pampā lake had to be crossed (p. XXXIV) but it had to be passed by. The Sanskrit word is "atikramya," which does not mean navigating it. Similarly the assumption that the Suvela and the Trikūṭa Hills, rose between the Vindhyas and the Narmadā is not even supported by the interpolated passages. Among the countries and the landmarks of the South, are mentioned Vindhya and Narmadā, but not in juxtaposition, as well as such countries as Vidarbha and Saurāṣṭra. The very basis of the theory itself is thus found to be wrong, while the description of the location is rambling, fanciful and merely supported by imagination. I feel confident that if the author, and the other scholars who have praised him, will consider my theory, they will cast their vote in its favour unequivocally.

As an instance of the casual manner in which Mr. Iyer makes his statements, is to be mentioned the fact that at page XII he asserts "It would thus seem that Rāvaṇa and Rāma took the same way from Pañcavaṭī to Laṅkā". It is a fact that while Rāma started on his invasion of Laṅkā from Kiṣkindhā, or rather only its suburb, Rāvaṇa on his way to Pañcavaṭī to abduct Sītā and on his way back to Laṅkā with her gave a wide-berth to Kiṣkindhā, presumably because Vāli, who was alive, was more powerful than he and would have certainly intercepted him. Sugrīva and others, who were living on a hill at some distance from Kiṣkindhā, saw him flying that is to say swiftly driving, from some distance from there.

Lastly it is to be mentioned that the late Mr. C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B., whose abridged editions of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, as well as his "Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa" and "Mahābhārata, a criticism," are so well known, wrote to me on 5th October, 1917, that from the statements found in the Mahābhārata too he was not so strong as previously against placing Kiṣkindhā north of the Narmadā as before. Rāmāyaṇa is clear on the point (4-52-31) and (4-58-20) that between the Vindhya and the Laṅkā was the sea surrounding Laṅkā. I have already shown that Kiṣkindhā was 98 miles to the south of Citrakūṭa.

M. V. Kibe

NANDAPUR ( A Forsaken Kingdom ) Part I, pp. i-viii+  
1-156. By Kumar Bidyadhar Singh Deo, B.A., B.L., M.R.  
A.S., ( Advocate ).

This monograph deals with Nandapur, the present Jeypore state, in Orissa. The aim of the author is to trace the history of the Sankara Dynasty, who were the ancestors of the present family of Jeypore. He has performed his task with the help of palm-leaf manuscripts and the District Gazetteers of the Madras Presidency and the *Source Book of Vijayanagar History*, published by the Madras University. From these sources Mr. Deo has been able to tell us in four chapters and thirteen appendices about the rulers of the Sankara Dynasty which succeeded the Gajapatia of Orissa and their relation with the contemporary rulers of Vijayanagar, Golconda and finally the East India Company from the mediaeval period upto the occupation of this territory, known as Northern Circars, by the English in the second half of the 18th century.

Students interested in the politics and religious movements during the mediaeval period will welcome this work, but its aim is to stimulate interest in the pre-Jeypore history and invite search for the remains of the Āndhra period in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam region. We have also suggested in the previous issue of this Journal the necessity of a similar study of the ancient Āndhradeśa and hope that the Āndhra Research University would very soon undertake it and would also cooperate with those who are engaged on a similar study.

H. D. Sankalia

## PURANIC RECORDS OF HINDU RITES AND CUSTOMS

by R. C. Hazra, Lecturer in Sanskrit, ( University of Dacca ) being the thesis approved for the Degree of Ph.D. in the same University : published by the University of Dacca.

“ The extant Purāṇas present a very rich collection of materials for the study of the development of Hindu rites and customs during the centuries intervening between Yājñavalkya and the *Smṛti Nibandhas*. During this long period, the Hindu Society passed through numerous vicissitudes, so much so that in many respects, the Hindu rites and customs as found in the *Nibandhas* differ from those in the codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya. Hence the study of the Purāṇas is of immense importance for the clear understanding of the whole course of the development. But none of the extant Purāṇas being assignable to any positive date, the greatest difficulty which makes their study impracticable and unscientific is the want of a proper chronology of the chapters constituting the individual *Purāṇas*. ” An attempt has, therefore, been made by the author to determine, as approximately as possible, the chronology of the Purāṇic chapters or parts thereof on Hindu rites and customs ; and the resulting chronology, the upper and lower limits of which, according to the author, are 200 to 1000 A. D. form part I of this work. In part II are described the various stages in the development of the “ Purāṇic rites. ” With an eye to the notable changes in the religious and political history of ancient India, the author has tried in this connection to ascertain the factors which determined the stages in the development of the Purāṇic *Dharma*. In addition there is a useful appendix containing a list of quotations traced in the extant Purāṇas.

The author has spared no pains to make this general study of the Purāṇic chapters on Hindu rites and customs authoritative by reference to original sources.

The chronological scheme in part I will not command general acceptance ; but that is inevitable, and it is commendable that the author has fully considered all available material.

We are, however, constrained to remark that chapter I of the part II entitled "The Hindu Society *before 200 A. D.* and the Purāṇic rites and customs in the first stage of their development" (italics mine) hardly does justice to its theme. Hindu rites and customs have had a long Pre-Purāṇa course of development from the age of the Rgveda to that of the Epics. The literary evidence, particularly in the *Ātharvaveda*, and the *Gṛhyasūtras*, is so ample that it demanded a more detailed treatment and a more careful consideration in tracing the antecedents of Purāṇic rites and customs.

Similarly in chapter II where the second stage of their development from the 3rd to the 6th century A. D. is described, greater attention should have been paid to the evidence of Buddhist and Jain Literatures, particularly with reference to Tantricism.

The deficiencies having been, thus, stated, we are in a position to say that on the whole the work is a scholarly production; and with its appendix, will be of great use to scholars tackling the textual problems relating to the Purāṇas.

V. M. Apte

**BHĀSA-- A STUDY**, By A. D. Pusalker, M.A., LL.B., with  
a Foreword by Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, D. C. L.,  
D. Litt., published by Meher Chand Lachhman Das,  
Lahore. 1940. Pages xix + 272 + 29 + xl. Price Rs. 15/

Nearly a quarter of a century ago, the late Mm. Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri of Trivandrum created a sensation among Sanskritists by his discovery of the plays of the first Hindu dramatist, Bhāsa, who was, till then, known only by name from references by Sanskrit authors. Anthology verses were the only known works of this 'Bhāsa.' Almost immediately after the discovery was known, a controversy started, a majority of scholars following the learned Mahamahopādhyāya Bhattanatha Swami, Ramavatara Sarma and Dr. L. D. Barnett were among the first to cast doubts on the genuineness of the discovery pronouncing the plays to be the productions of South Indian court poets. A vast material has gathered round the subject, some idea of which can be had from the bibliography in Appendix I, attached to the book under review. The book rightly claims to be the first, and hitherto the only, book dealing exhaustively with all aspects of the Bhāsa problem.

In the opening chapters Prof. Pusalker directly plunges into the controversial topics and seeks to prove by producing plausible evidence that the so-called thirteen Trivandrum plays are by one author, and that this author is the pre-Kālidāsa Bhāsa, whom on internal and external evidence the author places in the 4th century B. C. Considering that there are differences of opinion among scholars regarding the dates of Kālidāsa and Kauṭilya, there is little wonder that no unanimity exists about the date of Bhāsa, especially as the plays are taken to be spurious. Some scholars will no doubt take exception to the early date proposed by Prof. Pusalker, but there can be no two opinions as to the author's creditable performance in the careful sifting of facts, marshalling of evidence and the power of analysis and synthesis displayed everywhere in this book. He deals with a problem from all its facets and aspects as also in the light thrown on it by his predecessors, and he deserves all praise for his speciality of "treating with courtesy views which he does not share" which has been particularly mentioned by Dr. Keith in his Foreword to the book. The next two chapters headed "Critical Study" consider various topics such as the sources o the



plays, anthology verses, chronological order of the plays, the Prakrits, the tragic element in Bhāsa, Stage, Influence, &c., which prove interesting and instructive reading testifying to the wide sweep of the author. One may not agree with the author in his views regarding the Prakrit of the plays. The problem of the relation between the Cārudatta and the Mṛcchakaṭika is treated next in all detail, and the conclusion is that the Cārudatta is a fragment, and that it was the original of the Mṛcchakaṭika. The final two chapters of the First Book give a detailed analysis of each play adding particulars about the title, the changes effected by the poet in his plot, types of plays, Rasas and Alamkāras and critical remarks. There are two introductory sections on the origin of Indian drama and types of Sanskrit drama. Critical remarks on each play bring together in a short compass whatever has appeared on the play earlier, with the author's comments thereon, which are always sober.

The same width of outlook and thoroughness characterise the Second Book of the volume entitled 'Sociological Conditions of the Age', containing twelve chapters. Every topic is considered chronologically from the Vedic age to the period of Bhāsa. Varnāśramadharma, Marriage Laws and Customs, Position of Women, Urban and Rural Life, Court Life, Military Organisation, Religion, Philosophy, Literature and Sciences, are titles of some of the chapters in this book. It is not possible to indicate in brief what the author has dealt with in this part. Numismatics, Slavery, Plants and Flowers, &c are some of the topics considered.

The above would give some idea about the nature and scope of the book and indicate the amount of labour spent by the author over it. There are five Appendices, viz, Bibliography, Subhāstitas from Bhāsa, Anthology Verses, Split up Verses, and References to Bhāsa. There is an exhaustive Index at the end covering 36 pages. It is gratifying to note that the University of Bombay has accepted the book for its Ph. D. degree. The last word cannot yet be said to have been spoken on the Bhāsa controversy. We feel confident however that the book is a valuable addition to classical Sanskrit Literature and will prove of immense help to all future students of Bhāsa. The printing and get-up of the book are very good, and we commend it to the attention of all scholars interested in the subject.

V. M. Apte

THE NUMBER OF RASAS. By V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D.,  
The Adyar Library, Adyar.

In this very learned disquisition on the number of Rasas, Dr. Raghavan goes deep into rhetorical works both published and unpublished and displays the rich divergence of opinion that prevails on the subject. The somewhat halting admission by rhetoricians of note, that the Śānta Rasa is to be reckoned as the ninth in addition to the usual eight, led to the more fundamental question as to whether the orthodox number could be absolute, and whether it is not possible to add a few more to the list. It was Lollāṭa who seems to have suggested that Rasas are innumerable, and following his cue Bhoja, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, Bhānudatta and others have propounded Rasas like Udāṭṭa, Uddhata, Laulya, Sneha, Vyasana, Bhakti, Vātsalya, Māyā, Kārpaṇya, so that a state of chaos such as is referred to by Abhinavagupta in his Locana is reached, and the orthodox doctrine of eight Rasas is assailed on all sides. Even the very fundamental distinction of the Bhāvas into the permanent (Sthāyin) and the evanescent (Vyabhicārin) is called into question, and it is contended that the names Sthāyin and Vyabhicārin are not fixed names of two sets, but rather names of stages.

The germ of the revolt lay in the hesitation with which Bharata, the great exponent of the Rasa theory refers to the Śānta as an art emotion. In fact, as Dr. Raghavan has made abundantly clear, the Śānta texts in Bharata are interpolations; but ideas related to the Śānta are present in Bharata's accepted text. Dr. Raghavan traces the incoming of Śānta stage by stage and records the various controversies as well about the recognition of Śānta as a Rasa as about the various views regarding its Sthāyī. A very valuable contribution, which the author makes, is Section V of the book, in which he gives us a critically constituted text of the Śānta portion of the Abhinavabhāratī after a careful collation of the published text with a number of

new mss., thereby demonstrating the supreme need of revising the published text not only for this portion but for the remaining part also.

Dr. Raghavan states the case of Śānta Rasa very ably, enforcing his arguments by a reference to the practice of great poets, and lists together as many as eighteen Kāvya and thirty-eight dramas which present the Śānta as their principal aesthetic sentiment. As the learned writer of the foreword observes "the conclusion that Śānta is a Rasa is irresistible. Indeed it would have been a strange irony of circumstances if Indians of all, had excluded it from the sphere of art. ....No unwonted occasion in life—whether it be one of joy or one of sorrow—passes without bringing home to man the supreme desirability of spiritual peace. It means that the need for such peace is fundamental to human heart. ....If so Śānta mood is by no means uncommon; and the Śānta Rasa need not be an exception to the rule that the appeal of art is general."

The author has further discussed the attempts at postulating one Rasa as the Prakṛti and the rest as Vikṛtis, as for instance the Karuṇa synthesis of Bhavabhūti or the Śānta synthesis of Abhinavagupta; and in the end asserts, what has been recognised by all writers, that "Rasa is Rasa. It has no other name. It is one. It is like the Brahman or the Sphoṭa. The names Śṛṅgāra, Vira etc. and the consequent plurality and differences are ultimately unreal; or they are at best like parts of a whole. ....In experience also we find that our relish is one undefined state of the form of a repose of the mind, Viśrānti."

We make no doubt that the researches of Dr. Raghavan will be of considerable help to workers in the field of Indian Rhetoric who will find in the present work a rich mine of suggestive hints and references.

C. R. Devadhar

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## SOME OPINIONS

Vol. XII—( *Alaṃkāra*, *Saṃgita* and *Nāṭya* Mss ) by P. K. Gode, M.A. 1938.

“ We feel thankful to Mr. Gode for the attention he has given to the musical treatises in the collection and for the care with which he has described them ”

—Dr. P. C. BAGCHI in the  
Journal of Indian Music  
( *Uttara Mandra* ) May-June 1940

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“The Bhandarkar Institute in issuing descriptive catalogues of their valuable collection of manuscripts are actually contributing towards the labours of research. Mr. Gode gives us very valuable information mostly additional to that furnished by the study of the manuscript itself in the form of comparative notes referring to various other catalogues. Many of the difficulties naturally felt by a cataloguer have been overcome by Mr. Gode. It will be more profitable to the literary public if cataloguing is systematized for its reliability and utility. In these catalogues there are very few faults, some of which may be deemed differences of opinion.....A few errors do not, however, vitiate the great usefulness of these Catalogues”

—Mr. M. R. KAVI, M.A., in the  
*Annals of the S. V. Oriental Institute*,  
Tirupati, January-June, 1941

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“The catalogue will be of great help to scholars engaged in research on *Alamkara* and allied subjects”

—*Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society*,  
Bombay, 1937

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“The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona is well-known for its researches in Indian Antiquities and its reputation in this line is established beyond question. As a recognition of this the Government of Bombay has made over its collection of manuscripts, numbering no less than 20,000 to the Institute and has also provided for grants to help its work. The authorities of the Institute have taken great pains in classifying this huge collection and are now engaged in bringing out descriptive catalogues of each class.....The importance and usefulness of the publication of these catalogues cannot be overestimated. If similar catalogues are prepared for the collections of manuscripts in other parts of India that would give us an idea of the total amount of their national wealth. In this matter

*the example set by the Bombay Government should be followed in other provinces as well. Moreover, the authorities in charge of the orthodox, old seats of learning should also join in this endeavour..... Those who want to carry on researches in Indian antiquities and old Sanskrit literature should consider such catalogues as boons"*

—*Ananda Bazar Patrika,*

6th August, 1936, Page 15

( Translation of the original Bengali review kindly supplied by  
the Editor )

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“ Indologists all over the world, particularly those interested in Sanskrit Manuscripts, would wel-come with joy these five volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss belonging formerly to the Deccan College, Poona, and at present in the custody of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The work of preparing a descriptive catalogue for the collection of Sanskrit Mss in Poona was begun under the auspices of the Bombay Government in 1916 and was kept in abeyance for some time. Now that this work has been entrusted to the scholars of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, it may be reasonably hoped that this work will be completed soon. These volumes are prepared in accordance with approved methods of descriptive cataloguing and contain useful information ”

—*Journal of the Annamalai University,*  
September, 1940

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Vol. XVII—( *Jaina Literature and Philosophy* ) Parts I, II, and III  
by Prof. H. R. Kapadia, M.A. 1935, 1936, 1940.

“ Mr. Hiralal R. Kapadia has brought to bear on these Catalogues an ardent devotion, and the ‘References’ which he has appended to each manuscript exhibit scholarship of a high order they form a bibliography of all relevant notes. These ‘References

are a unique feature of the series of Descriptive Catalogues of Manuscripts published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The Appendices contain paleographical notes and charts and these will help the study of the original manuscripts. The Indexes that are proposed are of such large variety that they will allure the most lazy scholar into research in Jaina literary history”

—Dr. M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR

Director, S. V. Oriental Institute, Tirupati  
in its *Annals* ( January-June, 1941 )

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“ The Catalogue is very well prepared ”

—Prof. H. D. VELANKAR in the  
*Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society*,  
Bombay, 1936

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“ The Catalogue offers everything that can be desired by the student of Jaina literature both as regards details or accounts of the works in question. The Appendices on Jaina and non-Jaina characters, symbols, and letter-numerals used in Jaina Mss will be highly welcome to all scholars who have to read Jaina Mss. The Manuscripts Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute is to be congratulated on the completion of this new volume of its great and useful Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts. ”

—Dr. M. WINTERITZ in  
*Archiv Orientalni*, 1936

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**Vol. XXII ]**

**[ PARTS III-IV**

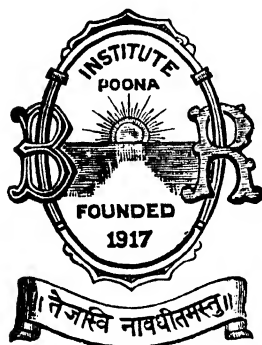
**Annals of the  
Bhandarkar Oriental  
Research Institute  
Volume XXII  
1941**

**EDITED BY**

**A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, M.A.,**

**AND**

**R. N. DANDEKAR, M.A., Ph.D.**



**POONA**

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**1942**





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# **Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute**

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**VOL. XXII ]**

**JULY - OCTOBER 1941**

**[ PARTS III-IV**

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## **EXCAVATIONS AT KONDAPUR\***

**An Andhra Town (Cir. 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.)**

**BY**

**G. YAZDANI, O.B.E.**

**Director of Archaeology Hyderabad ( Dn. )**

First of all I must thank the Governing Body of the Bhandarkar Institute for very kindly inviting me to give an address at this important function which is associated with the memory of a savant whose name is still revered by scholars in all parts of the world. Since his demise Oriental studies have made great progress in India and his soul must be pleased with the rich harvest which is being gathered from the seeds which he sowed during his life time. The Bhandarkar Institute itself has attained to a very high standard of scholarship in research-work, and thus won respect for the Indian talent by all those who are interested in the culture and learning of the East.

After paying this humble tribute to the memory of the founder and the work of your Institute I turn to the subject of my address this evening. Scholars and art-critics up to until quite recently were inclined to hold the opinion that the Ajanta paintings and the majority of the Buddhist sculpture in the Deccan had a direct influence of the art of North India, particularly

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\* The Address delivered at the Bhandarkar Institute, on 27th August 1941, on the sixteenth Anniversary Day of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.

during the Gupta period, and that is the reason why many authors have assigned the frescoes of Ajanta to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. The Archaeological Department of Hyderabad in its researches has however found that the art of painting at Ajanta was fairly developed in the second century B. C., and it must have taken several centuries to reach that standard. According to our view the people of the Deccan, independent of any influence from the North, were conversant with the art of painting in the early centuries of the first millennium B. C. Now to prove the soundness of this view I show you an inscription from Cave X which is painted above the figure of a Raja who with his family is proceeding to a Bodhi-tree, the emblem of the Great Being, in order to show his devotion. The inscription is very faint but it was deciphered first by Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indraji and recently it has been studied by Lüders who in a private letter writes to me thus :—

“After careful examination of the photo of the painted inscription in the Ajanta Cave X in connection with the published drawing I have come to the conclusion that it may be assigned to the middle of the 2nd century B.C. It is true very little is left of the writing, but the *bha* with the elongated right vertical, the *va* with the curve tending to be triangular, the *pa* with the rounded corners, the *ya* with the semicircular base, tally with the characters of the Bharhut inscriptions.

“As regards the inscription carved on the facade of the cave, of which you kindly sent me an excellent estampage, I am sure that is even earlier, *va*, *pa*, *gha*, *kha* showing Asoka forms. Only the *ra* which consists of a straight line may be a little later. In my opinion the inscription can safely be assigned to about 200 B. C.”

You all have seen the painted inscription over the head of the Rājā. The other inscription carved on the facade is well-known, but as it is not associated with any painting, I do not show it to you. The story connected with the Rājā covers almost the entire left wall of Cave X and I shall show you three slides in order to enable you to judge by yourself what stage the art of painting reached in the second century B.C. The first is a photograph taken direct from the rock-wall, but as the vandal scribbings of the visitors, done long before the establishment of

the Archaeological Department in Hyderabad, have much disfigured the fresco it may perhaps be difficult for you to make out the detail of the drawing from this photograph. I have had faithful tracings of this subject made and I shew them to you. The first tracing represents the Rājā in front of the Bodhi-tree, and the other the religious orchestra consisting of entirely ladies. Both of them show perfect drawing, full command over the painting of figures in the round, a considerably developed aesthetic sense regarding the choice of poses and the arrangement of figures, and a love of decoration, as exhibited by the beautiful coiffure and lovely ornaments. In the second century B.C., an Andhra dynasty, in history called Sātavāhana was ruling in the Deccan.

From Ajanta I take you to Sānchi where an inscription of a king of this dynasty, Śrī Śātakarṇi, is carved on the Southern Gate. From the style of the script, as also from the other inscriptions of this king in the Hathigumpha and at Nanaghat, epigraphists have correctly assigned the Sānchi record to the first half of the second century B.C. But some eminent archaeologists, on the basis that the sculpture of the Southern Gate of Sānchi is superior in workmanship to that of the Bharhut *stupa*, which is also assigned to the second century B.C., have placed the former in the first half of the first century B.C. But this reasoning is surely fallacious, for the sister arts of painting and sculpture have a much earlier history in the Deccan, and in the second century B.C., as you have just seen in the case of the paintings of Ajanta, or you may have noticed in the published illustrations of the Southern Gate of Sānchi, the artists could draw or carve with ease figures in the round, and there is no flatness or primitive 'frontality' in their work, such as we notice in the figures of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇis at Bharhut, especially in the carving of their legs and feet.

The object of this somewhat lengthy preamble is that in South India, particularly in the Deccan, fine arts as well as some crafts about which I shall speak before you presently, have an independent history going back to a much earlier period than that of the arts and crafts of the North. I do not of course include the Indus-Valley culture, which I consider hybrid, something superimposed and not purely Indian. I shall not discuss this point today.

Now a few words about the Andhras, who are first mentioned in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* as a *Dasyu* tribe, living on the borders of the Āryan territory. The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* is supposed to have been composed prior to 500 B. C. and the name *Dasyu* in early Āryan literature is generally applied to aborigines. The researches of the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad show that Scythians, who are called *Sakas* in Sanskrit literature, entered the Deccan several thousand years before the Christian era and eventually became merged in the native population. This view has been formed in consideration of the large number of megalithic tombs, such as cairns, cromlechs, dolmens menhirs and 'avenues' which are found scattered in all parts of the Deccan and in South India. These tombs are specially associated with the Scythians and are found in other countries as well where the Scythians entered. The mixing of the Scythians with the aborigines of the Deccan on a large scale made certain changes in their features, and we notice that the figures shown in the early frescoes of Ajanta, such as you have just seen on the screen, resemble more the present day inhabitants of the Deccan than the descendants of Āryans in North India.

Thus according to our investigations Andhras or the people of the Deccan in the first millenium B. C., or even much earlier had a strong Scythian admixture and developed a culture of their own embracing the fine arts of painting and sculpture, and such crafts, as jewel-cutting, ivory-carving, enamelling and chasing on gold and silver. The potter's craft was also highly developed, and the workmanship shows a close connection with the modelling, or idea of three dimensions, represented in contemporary sculpture or painting. The list of Andhra kings as given in the *Purāṇas*, is being confirmed and modified by the interpretation of inscriptions and discovery of new coins, and we also have been lucky to find a large hoard of Sātavāhana issues at Kondapur, the Andhra town, the excavations of which are the subject of my present address.

This place is situated some 43 miles W. N. W. of Hyderabad and we came to know of its antiquity by sheer chance. A peon of our Department, Sayed Husain by name, who is an inhabitant of Kondapur, told Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, my Assistant, two years ago, when he was excavating at the old town of

Maski, that bricks and antiquities similar to those unearthed at Maski were also found during the monsoon on a mound in the neighbourhood of his village. His information was duly noted, but owing to other archaeological works which were in progress we could not visit the site until last year.

A preliminary survey at once convinced us that the site was old and we took immediate steps to acquire the entire area of the mound which comprised some eighty acres of land under cultivation. The Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari as President of the Council, who has always encouraged archaeological work in Hyderabad, readily sanctioned a decent grant for excavating the site and we started operations in March this year (1941).

Before describing the excavation-work I may narrate briefly the topographical features of the mound. It stands by a stream-let the waters of which have been stored in a reservoir by building a dam across it. The dam may originally have been built during the time of Kakatiya kings, who were very fond of building tanks, and some of their dykes notably at Pakhal, Ramappa and Lakhnaram are object lessons even to the modern engineer. The mound stands 20 to 30 ft. above the surrounding ground and has an altitude of 1788 ft. above the sea-level. There are some more mounds in the immediate vicinity towards the South-East, in the neighbourhood of the village Tirpol, while the present village of Kondapur is situated at a distance of half a mile to the North of the mound. The stream intervenes between the village and the mound and in olden times when its waters would not have been stopped by the dam it might have been an important tributary of the river Manjra, which has a circuitous course some twelve miles towards the North. Kondapur village is now included in the Kalabgur Taluqa of Medak district, and it is easily accessible from Hyderabad by the Bidar road which takes the visitor up to the 38th mile beyond which there is a cart-track, which since our excavating the site has been made motorable through the good offices of the P. W. D. Member of the Nizam's Government and the Chief Engineer of the same Government.

For starting our work we selected the western area of the mound which rises 10 to 12 ft. higher than the eastern part of it, and dug a trial pit in the middle and ran trenches towards the



North, East and West. I first show you a photograph of the land when its possession was taken over by us from the cultivators. (Pl. I). *Jawari* stalks were still standing after the crop had been gathered and the area was strewn over with broken stones, pieces of bricks, potsherds and iron slag, the last being in considerable quantity.

The next slide shows you the plan of our work and the remains of the building which began to come into sight after we had removed 20 to 30 inches of earth from the cultivated surface. These remains show traces of old walls, houses built of brick as well as rubble, shops with furnaces and large earthen basins, religious structures, comprising *stupas*, *chaityas*, i.e. apsidal temples, and *vihāras* or monasteries. I shall show you photographs of these later on, but in the meantime I may tell you that besides these structural remains we found a large number of movable antiquities such as pottery, terracotta figurines, beads ornaments and, above all, coins which number as many as two thousand and belong to both published and unpublished varieties. I take up the pottery first, because the slide which I show you next will give you an idea of the large quantity which has been unearthed (Pl II). The pieces consist of plain saucers and *chatties* of ordinary domestic use as well as ornamented pots, urns, incense-burners and vases exhibiting potter's skill of a high order. You will see in the next photograph an urn of an unusual shape and a pot with the *triratna* emblem which clearly indicates that the pot was used for some religious purpose (Pl. III). Pots with this and similar emblems have been found in very large numbers and they are of various sizes, some quite small, about 7 inches high and 18 to 20 inches in circumference, while others are very large; the specimen on the screen now is 3 ft. in height and 9 ft. in circumference with beautiful decorative designs worked out on it (Pl.IV). This pot was found fixed to earth and connected by a brickpaved drain with a building of which the foundations of two rooms only can be traced now. The building was apparently a religious shrine, containing a *stupa* which was washed on ceremonial occasions, and the ablution waters by means of the neatly paved drain were collected in this large jar and distributed to the votaries. This surmise of mine may be wrong, but I have strong reasons for making that. First of all I have found similar

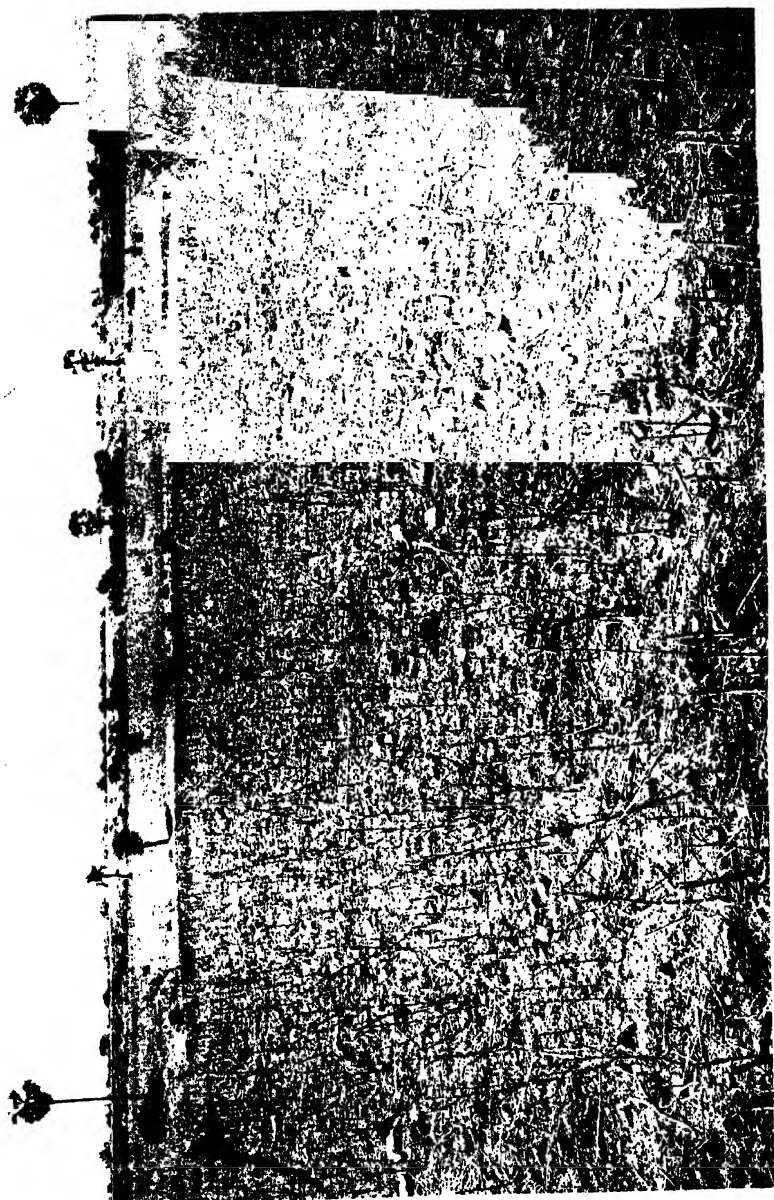


Plate 1.—The surface of the mound after the *jauri* crop had been gathered.



Plate II—Pottery found in rooms with rubble foundations at a depth of 2 to 2½ ft.



( b ) A jar of unusual shape : red-ware.

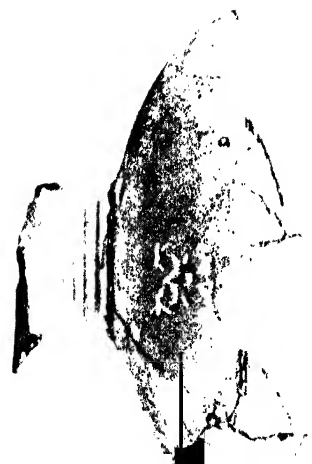


Plate III—( a ) Pot with the religious symbol ' triratna ' ;  
red-ware with fine polish.



Plate IV—Large jar, 9 ft. in girth and 3 ft. in depth : with beautiful decorative designs : red-ware with fine polish.



Plate V—Buddhist religious symbols on pottery.

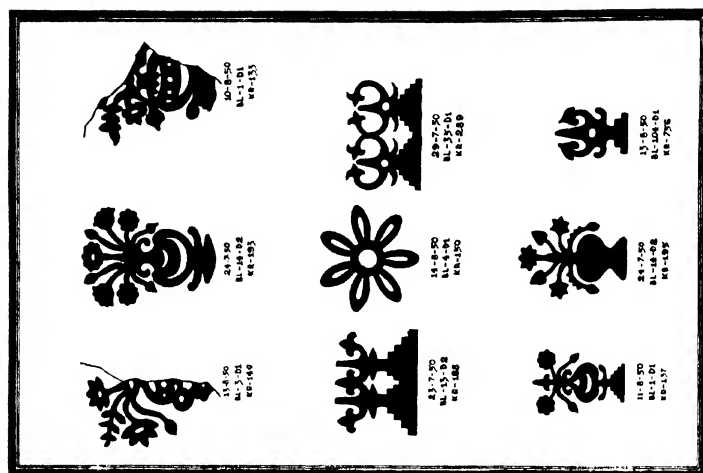
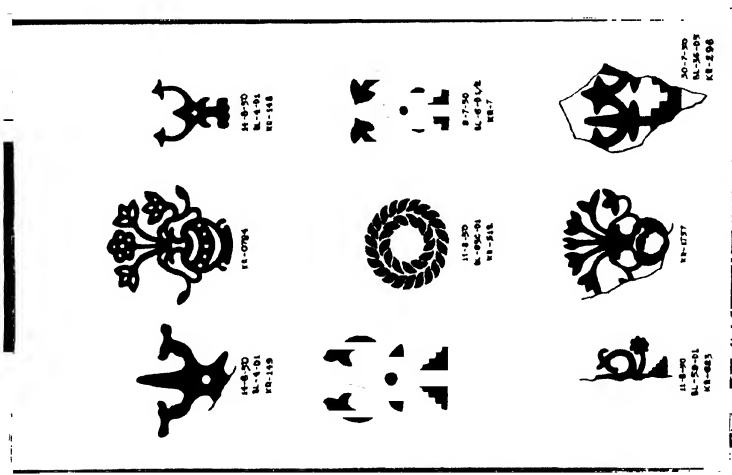


Plate VI—Buddhist religious symbols copied from pottery.

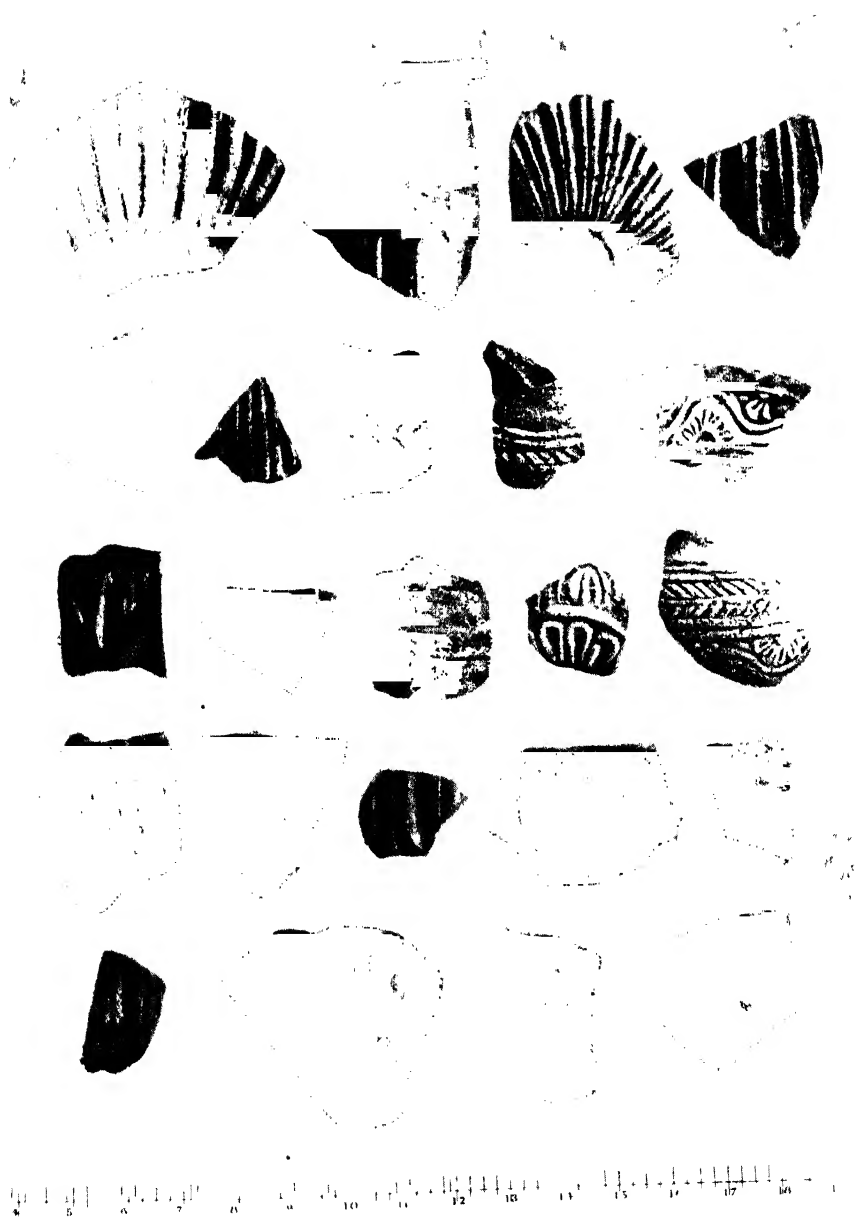


Plate VII—Pieces of pottery with ornamental designs. They are red-ware with fine polish.





Plate VIII

(a) Figure of a Bodhisattva with conventional coils.

(b) Figure of a Bodhisattva with elaborate head-gear: the face shows internal calm.



(c) Back of (a)



(d) Back of (b)



Plate IX—Four terracotta heads representing Yakshas and other Buddhist religious characters.  
The upper two figures have a smile on their lips.



Plate X--(a) Figure of a Bodhisattva.



(b) Two heads with long hair and thick noses



Plate XI--(a) Kuvera or some  
other Yaksha.



(b) Same : back : note the elaborate  
head-gear.



(c) Hariti with a child.



(d) Mother-Goddess (Earth ?) mutilated.

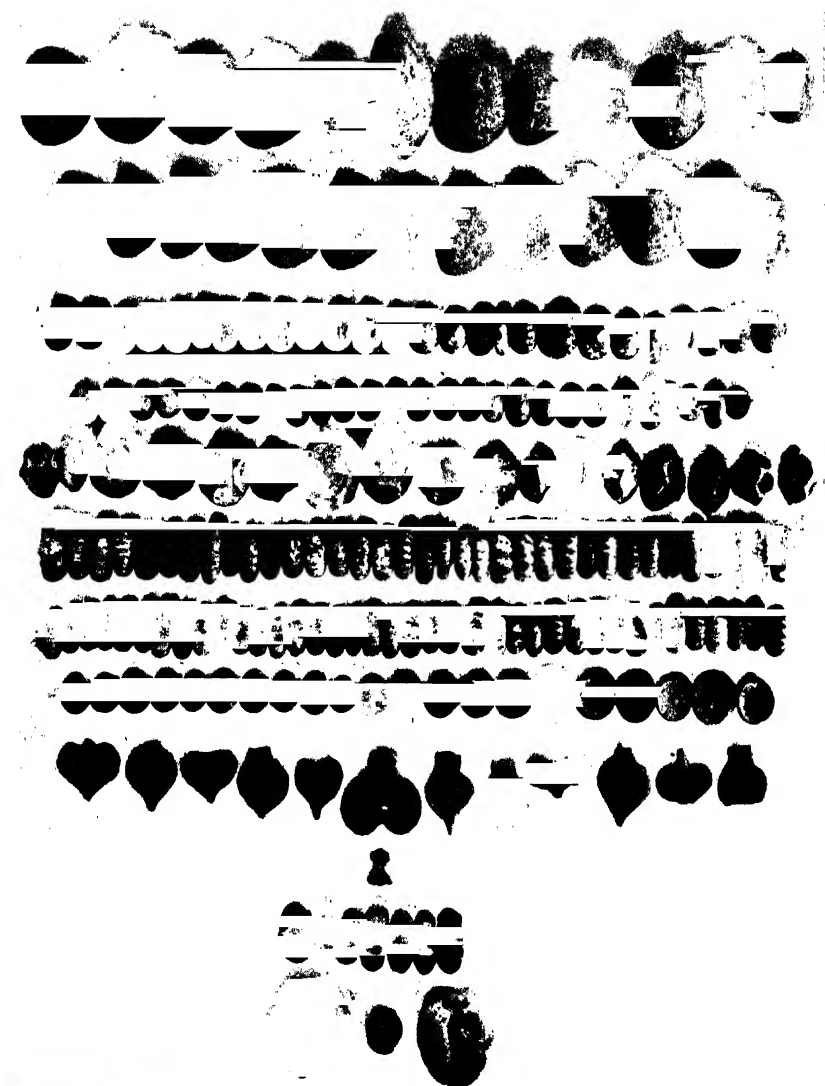


Plate XII--Ornamental clay beads

# Bangle designs

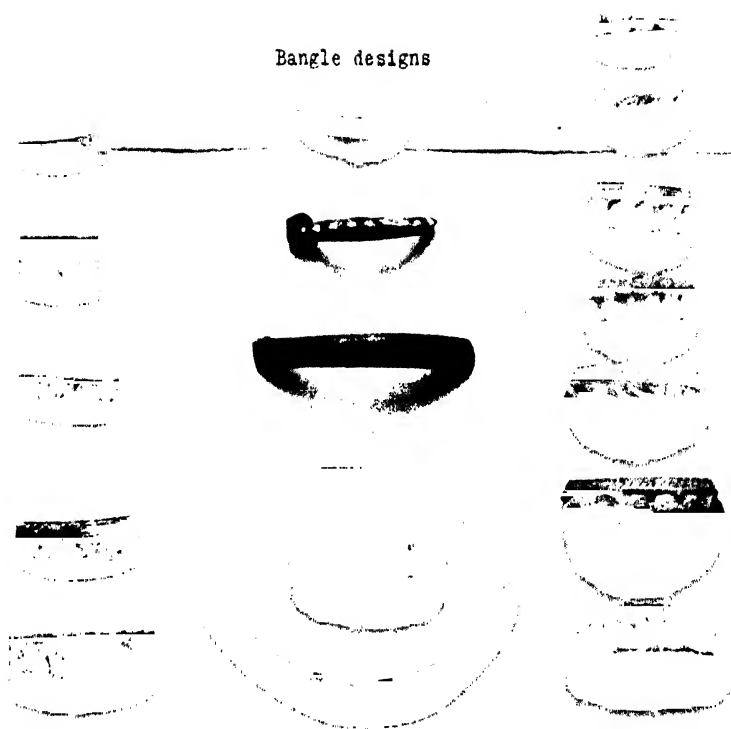
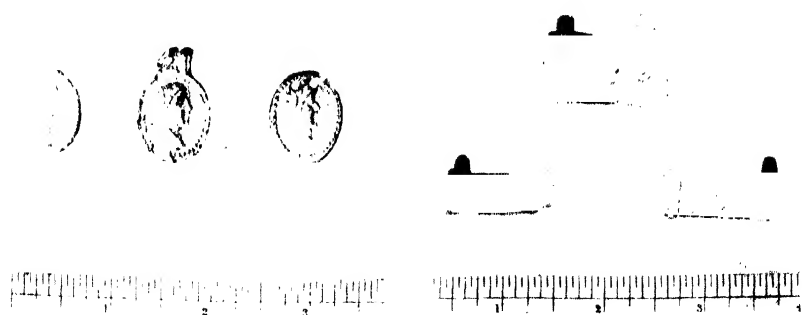


Plate XIII--(1) Ivory bangles.

Baked clay bangles.



(b) Clay imitations of Roman coins.

(c) Terracotta amulets.



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Plate XIV—Potin coins of Andhra dynasty.

LEAD COINS OF  
ANDHRA DYNASTY



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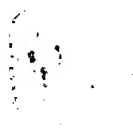
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Plate XV--Lead coins of Andhra dynasty.



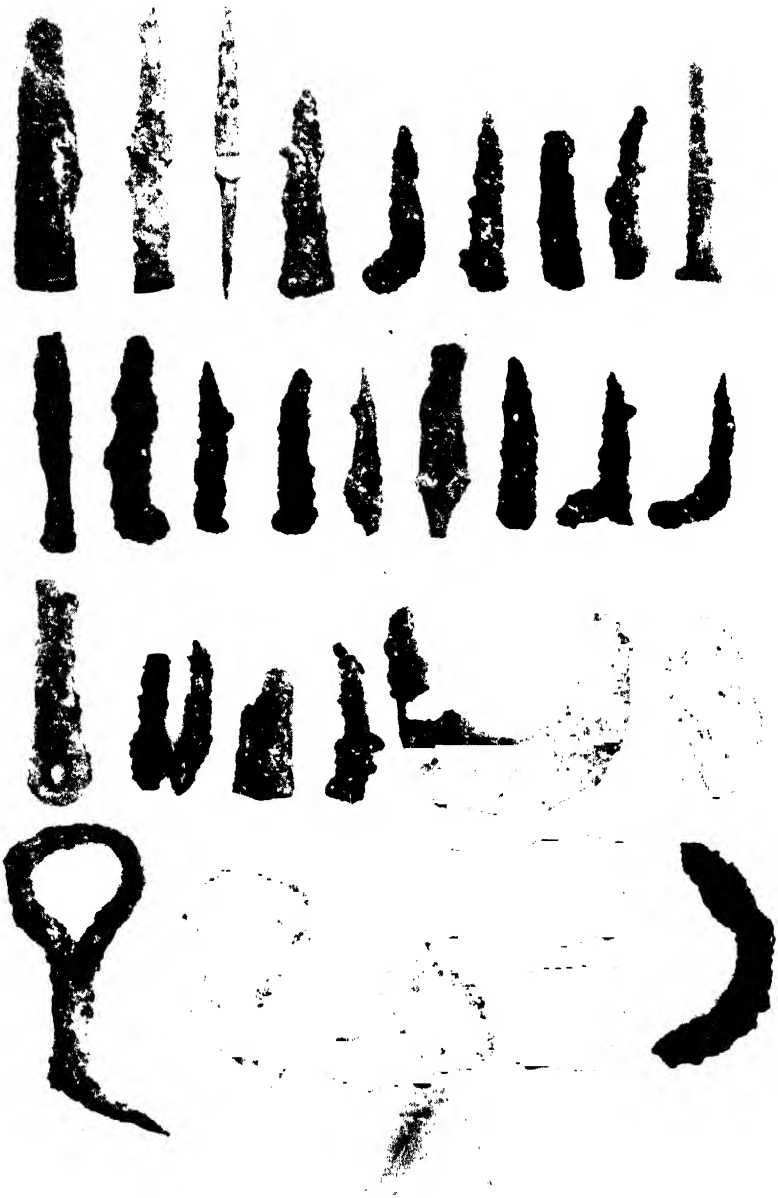


Plate XVI.--Iron weapons and tools such as knives, hoes and scythes.



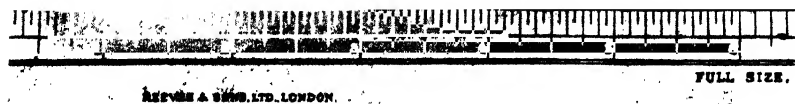
Plate XVII.--An underground twin-chamber.



Plate XVIII--(a) Terracotta figure of a lion.



(b) Terracotta figure of a ram.



(c) Terracotta figure of a horse and a bull.

jars connected with religious shrines by means of brick-paved channels at several places in our excavations at Kondapur. Further, small pots decorated with *triratna* have been found in almost every house at Kondapur and it appears that they contained the ablution, *Abhiṣeka*-water. That the pot on account of this association became a religious symbol among the Buddhists at a very early period may be explained from the religious emblems which we have noted on the pottery at Kondapur, and which I show to you presently (Pls. V-VI). Among these emblems we see the pot with garland which eventually became a decorative architectural motif both in Buddhist and Brahman buildings.

Passing on to the ornamental pottery I show you some specimens which are broken pieces of small cups, pots and urns (Pl. VII). The ware is extremely thin and delicate and has a red colour with lustrous polish. At the beginning I was a little doubtful in assigning these specimens to the Andhra period, for I had not seen pottery of such fine texture and perfect finish of an earlier time than the advent of Muslim crafts in India. But the *triratna* emblems and the several patterns which are peculiar to the early Buddhist sculpture, like the lotus design on the specimen at the left end in the third row, or the sacred-wheel motif on the second specimen from the right in the fourth row, and the full-blown lotus-flower on the second specimen from the left in the bottom row, which have been noticed frequently in the sculpture at Amravati and Ajanta, convinced me that the pottery was of early Buddhist period and had nothing to do with Muslim influence.

The potter's craft, which is considered insignificant in these days, during the early period of the Dekhani art occupied almost the same position as sculpture and painting, and it is not unlikely that master-artists occasionally played the double role of sculptors and potters. To elucidate this view I show you the heads of some terracotta figurines which have been found in the course of our excavations at Kondapur (Pl. VIII). The first represents a Bodhisattva with conventional rings of hair, but the features are very realistic and modelling perfect. The figure represents a typical inhabitant of the Deccan or South India with flat nose, thick lips and oval face. It shows no Āryan affinity. The second head is a better specimen of art, the face showing an

internal calm and repose worthy of a votary of the Buddhist faith. The figure has a jewellery band round the forehead and heavy ear-rings. The mass of hair on the crown of the head and the ornamental plaits falling on the nape are conventional. The figure represents a Bodhisattva, or a Yakṣa, or a rājā.

In the next slide I show you four more heads, the features of all of them being non-Āryan (Pl. IX). The style of dressing and plaiting the hair is different in each specimen, and the artist's fancy has had full play in adorning it. The top two heads and the third on the left side at the bottom show a smile on their lips indicative of inner joy. The fourth has a meditative mood, as if absorbed in some serious problem.

I show you now three more heads which are very characteristic (Pl. X). The one at the top has comparatively more refined features than the figures which I showed you before. The religious expression over the face also reveals a higher class of artistic imagination. This figure can safely be placed by the side of the best painted head at Ajanta, and it will not suffer in comparison either from the point of view of artistic qualities or from that of religious expression. The bottom two heads are typical examples of the artist's sense of humour, of which we find so many examples at Ajanta. These dumpy noses, irregular features and long hair, turned up at the end, at once evoke laughter. In some ways they are also reminiscent of the 18th and 19th centuries European sculpture, particularly in the manner of dressing the hair.

I show you one more slide representing the terracotta figurines (Pl. XI). The top figure is probably of Kuvera, or may be of some other Yakṣa, and the bottom one towards the left, of Hariti with the child on her knee. In the right hand she holds a fan, or an incense-burner, or the prayer-wheel with a handle. The mutilated figure at the bottom on the right is of Mother-goddess Earth, whose worship was not forgotten particularly by the agriculturist classes. The head-gear and the ornaments of the figure at the top are reminiscent of the elaborate head dresses and jewellery shown in the paintings of Ajanta.

The ornaments discovered in the course of digging or while sifting the earth in fine sieves before its ultimate removal from the site, cover a wide range, from precious and semi-precious

jewels to gold, copper, ivory and shell ornaments; including also terracotta beads, necklaces and bangles which artistically are not in any way inferior to the specimens found of expensive material. Among the precious and semi-precious stone ornaments are heads of carnelian, amethyst, onyx, jade, crystal and lapis-lazuli, having a variety of shapes, round, discoid, oval with prolonged ends on two sides, barrel-shaped, triangular and also in the form of a dagger. In ancient times the Deccan was noted for its bead industry and we have found beads in great abundance at Paithan and Maski to confirm this view. Among the gold ornaments there are some beads which show enamel-work. The use of a white paste probably of kaolin, which is available in the Deccan at several places, is noticeable on some beads of carnelian. Kaolin seems to have been used also in the making of the figurines which you saw a few minutes ago. The copper ornaments consist principally of ear or finger rings. Ivory articles are rare, but the few specimens which we have found exhibit exquisite carving. They are pieces of bangles with various designs. The largest quantity is, however, of baked-clay ornaments, comprising necklaces of various designs, bangles, and amulets used for decoration as well as for safety against the influence of evil spirits. I show you two plates, in one of them beads and other ornaments of which the necklaces were made are shown (Pl. XII). They are of different designs some of them being quite artistic, particularly those in the sixth, seventh and ninth rows.

In the next slide the top plate represents the designs of ivory bangles on the left and of terracotta bangles on the right (Pl. XIII). In the lower plate are shown baked-clay imitations of Roman coins which have holes at the top and were strung together for use as a neck-ornament. In India and other Eastern countries necklaces of real coins are still in vogue; but it is interesting to note how the potter to satisfy the aspirations of the poor folk made imitations of them in clay. The bottom row of this plate represents amulets which were hung round the neck. They are also of terracotta. The Roman coins of which the imitations have been made are of the first century A. D. At that time and even earlier there was considerable trade between South India and the Western countries and Roman coins were used for purpose of

barter. There are references to this trade in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and in other contemporary writings. At Kondapur we have also found a real gold coin of the Roman Pontiff, Augustus, who ruled from 37 B. C. to 14 A. D. Some years ago we found Roman gold coins in the Karimnagar district also belonging to almost the same period, that is the first century B.C. or first century A.D.

Of the greatest importance however is the discovery of nearly two thousand coins, the majority of them being found only a few inches below the cultivated surface. They are punch-marked, which are supposed to be the earliest coins of India, early Andhra issues with well-known symbols but without any writing, some unpublished varieties of the Sātavāhana dynasty with legends in Brāhmī characters, and a large number of other coins of the same dynasty which are identical with those published by Rapson and Mirashi already. Another important discovery made in connection with the coins is that their moulds also have been found, and it appears that the mound was originally the site of an important Andhra town where coins were minted. I show you three plates, the first two contain the obverse and reverse sides of the published specimens. I am not a numismatist, but my Assistant, Mr. K. M. Ahmad, who has been in charge of the excavations at Kondapur, is an expert in coins, and holds the important office of Secretary of the All-India Numismatic Society. He is studying the coins collectively and will publish a monograph on them shortly. His opinion is that of the potin coins now before you (Pl. XIV), four can be definitely assigned to Śrī Śātakarṇi (Gautamīputra), Śrī Pulumāvi (Vāsiṣṭhīputra), Śiva Śrī Pulumāvi (III) and Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi. This identification has been confirmed by my esteemed friends, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the Director-General of Archaeology in India, and Prof. V. V. Mirashi, Head of the Sanskrit Department, Nagpur University, who were consulted in the matter independently by me. As for the square coins, which are of lead, and which according to Mr. K. M. Ahmad, have not been published before, Nos. 16, 17 and 18 are of Gautamīputra and No. 11 of Śātakarṇi. (Pl. XV) Prof. Mirashi has also kindly helped me regarding the identification of square lead coins.

To me as a student of early Indian art these coins are of great value as fixing with a certain amount of precision the age of the

antiquities, some specimens of which I have shown you this evening. We have luckily found some seals also and although they are broken, the style of the script, according to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, belongs to the first century A. D. and confirms the evidence furnished by the coins regarding the age of the antiquities.

In our investigations in the Raichur District we have noticed that the people of the Deccan possessed a sound knowledge of Mining and Metallurgy in the first millenium B.C., or perhaps much earlier, if we agree to the view that the gold of Mohenjo-Daro went from South India. The old gold workings in the Lingsagur Taluqa show shafts sunk to a depth of six hundred feet by manual labour which is highly creditable in consideration of the appliances of those days, but it is difficult to fix their age with any precision. The metal specimens found at Kondapur, besides those of gold and copper alluded to above, comprise largely iron implements and weapons, such as sickles, forks, hoes, knives, spear-heads, chisels and nails (Pl.XVI), They have corroded badly through the effect of moisture, for the soil of Kondapur, like that of other places of the Deccan, is very porous, and these specimens have been found at a depth of one to three feet below the surface. As through corrosion the shape of the implements has much suffered it is not possible to make any remark about their finish. In the course of excavation remains of furnaces and of large earthen water-basins for cooling the metal have been found in large numbers and it appears that smithy work flourished on an extensive scale.

The remains of old buildings unearthed so far show a plain but vigorous style of architecture. The private houses as well as religious structures were built of bricks of various sizes and the mortar used was clay obtained from the beds of tanks. The dimensions of the bricks varied according to the size of the building, for instance, in the case of enclosure walls bricks 22 inches in length, 12 inches in width and two and a half inches in thickness have been found. At the corners of some houses, square bricks 20 inches each way and two and a half to three inches thick have been noticed. In the case of small rooms the general dimensions are 17 inches in length 8 inches in breadth and 2½ to 3 inches in thickness. The bricks used for circular buildings, such as *chaitya* ends or *stupas*, are wedge-shaped so as to fit in



the construction without trimming. As the soil of the Deccan is coarse granular, being decayed laterite, the bricks which have been found in the excavations have stood the test of 2000 years and are as strong today as they were originally. Their sides are smooth and when laid in courses in a building present a neat appearance.

After the waning of the Buddhist religion the site seems to have been deserted, and a great deal of damage has been done to the buildings by brick-diggers of the neighbouring areas. As a result of this vandalism it is difficult to make out the plan of the buildings definitely. But from the traces which have been left it appears that the living apartments were of moderate dimensions, rooms being either square 10 to 12 ft. each way, or rectangular, 10 by 8 ft. The floors in some cases are of brick laid flat in regular courses, but generally they are of brick-concrete well-beaten, thus becoming a solid water-proof pavement. In some houses rubble has also been used for pavement. The material of the roofs it is difficult to guess at present; but pieces of tiles have been found in large quantities and it is not unlikely that the former were built of tiles and wood. Some houses and shops have rubble walls and their roofs, like those of the huts of the present day, were of straw.

After these general remarks I describe in detail the remains of a monastery, two chaityas and a dagoba which have been discovered in the South-Western and Western parts of the mound. I take up the monastery first. Its northern wing is fairly intact and consists of six rooms with a passage, 5 ft. 2 in. between the fourth and fifth rooms, counting from the North-Eastern corner. The dimensions of these rooms are almost uniform, each measuring 10 ft. square approximately. The traces of a narrow brick pavement in front of the cells indicates that there was a wooden structure in the form of a veranda above the pavement, which has completely perished and of which no trace is to be seen now.

The cells on the eastern side are not aligned at right angles to those on the Northern side and it appears that they were not built simultaneously, but may be either earlier or later in date. On the western side the traces of only one cell have been found although we dug quite deep in the hope of discovering foundations of cells corresponding to those in the Eastern and Western

wings. In the middle however we found the traces of a *stupa* which has a rubble core and brick casing. The circular foundations of the *stupa* measure 19 ft. across. The plan of the entire building shows that it was a *vihāra* with cells for the monks all round and a *dagoba* in the middle. Towards the South of this *vihāra* the remains of two *chaityas* have been found. They are of small dimensions compared with the spacious rock-hewn *chaityas* of Ajanta, Karli and Bhaja. But their shape is perfect being apsidal at one end (towards the North). Their internal dimensions are 25' 4" × 10' 4" of the Western *chaitya*, and 21' 4" × 12' of the Eastern *chaitya*. As the foundations of the walls of these two *chaityas* overlap it appears that one of them, probably that on the eastern side was built after the other. In the *chaitya* towards the East the rubble foundations of a *dagoba* have also been found.

The other *stupa* near the Western end of the mound has been discovered in the middle of a court which has brick-concrete pavement. Traces of some rooms and of a rectangular building which originally might have been the front part of a *chaitya* have also been found. As there were steps to descend from the mound to the lowland below near this *stupa*, it can be imagined that the bricks of this building were first dug and removed before the vandals directed their raids to other structures. This *stupa* measures nearly 15 ft. across and has a projection towards the South which marks the site of a niche or of a landing for steps, which might have been built on either side.

Remains of religious structures have also been found in the Northern parts of the mound, but as they are badly damaged I shall not describe them this evening. An interesting feature of the private houses and shops (?) is the presence of underground chambers, which are called *chaubachchas* in Hindustani and which are frequently found in North India. In my own house at Delhi in Churiwala Street, which originally belonged to the Raja of Ballab Garh, there was a *chaubachcha*. But during the excavations I completely forgot this feature of old Indian houses, and I thought that the underground structures of Kondapur were either wells or soak-pits for refuse. But on digging I was quite disillusioned for their contents comprised coins

with their moulds, seals, pieces of terracotta figurines, which are valuable from a religious point of view, beads, gold ornaments and similar other articles which must have been precious to the dwellers of the house in those days. Such chambers have been found in very large numbers, perhaps there was one in each house and in some there were two (Pl. XVII). I show you the mouth of a twin-chamber which is built of neat courses of brick laid in mud and has a pavement at a depth of 20 ft. from the ground level. The depths of these chambers vary from 5ft. to 25ft., and the floor at the bottom in some cases is of bricks laid flat, and in some cases of small stones of irregular shape but fixed evenly to the ground.

The abundance of antiquities, principally of coins shows that on the mound and in its immediate vicinity, which has not been explored by us as yet, was situated an important town of the Andhra kingdom, probably during the period when the Sātavāhana dynasty was ruling at Paithan. It may be the site of one of the thirty walled towns to which Pliny has referred in his work. The town had a mint, and was also a great religious centre, as can be easily proved by the numerous religious buildings and several hundreds of terracotta figurines which have been discovered, representing Bodhisattvas, Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs and many other semi-religious characters. The inhabitants professed the Buddhist faith of the Hīnayāna school, for no image of the Buddha has been found as yet. But characters which are referred to in the early *jātaka* stories can easily be indentified among these figurines. This view is also supported by the discovery of the representations of those animals which are mentioned in early Buddhist literature, or are noticed in the early sculptures of that faith, for instance the figures of lions, horses and bulls, and some domestic animals as the ram (Pl. XVIII). These figures show art of a high order and prove that the master-artists of the Deccan possessed the sense of perspective. They could produce representations with a realistic effect and give a religious character to them by a sort of inner expression. The life of the people was however plain, and the majority of them were agriculturists by profession as is apparent from the large number of ploughing and cultivation implements which have been discovered.

The above remarks are based on the excavations which have been carried out so far. But we have just broken the crust and the lower strata are still to be dug. Fortunately the Nizam's Government has an enlightened policy for archaeological research and notwithstanding the exigencies of the War we are being liberally provided to carry on our work. In this connection I wish to mention specially the name of the Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, the Premier of Hyderabad State, who is deeply interested in Archaeology and who during the short period of our work at Kondapur, visited the site thrice: once in the middle of May when the temperature in Hyderabad was 114°. At present owing to rains we have stopped the work, but the operations will start again in November next and those of you who are planning to go to Hyderabad on the occasion of the Eleventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference are most cordially invited to visit this site and see the antiquities with your own eyes.

# JÑĀNAGHANA'S CONTRIBUTION TO ADVAITA

BY

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The *Tattvasūddhi* as an important manual of advaita is known from the frequent references to it by Appayya Dīkṣita in his *Siddhāntaleśasaṃgraha*.<sup>1</sup> The work is now edited for the first time by the present writer in the Annals of Oriental Research of the Madras University, in collaboration with Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri. The author of this work is one Jñānaghanapāda disciple of Bodhaghanācārya.<sup>2</sup> The work is complete in 46 chapters called prakaraṇas and sets forth some of the fundamental problems of advaita in a very clear and forceful style.

## *Manuscripts of Tattvasūddhi.*

Aufrecht in his 'Catalogus Catalogorum I, p. 219<sup>a</sup> gives two entries under the name of *Tattvapariśuddhi*. Both of them are said to be on Vedānta. But the first reference, viz., Rādh. 5 and 42, is doubtful, since on p. 220<sup>b</sup> of the Catalogus Catalogorum, the same reference (Rādh. 5) is given to a tantric work called *Tattvasūddhi*. Probably in Paṇḍita Rādhākṛṣṇa's collection both the Vedāntic and the tāntric works were available. A manuscript of the tāntric *Tattvasūddhi* is available in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, No. 660 of 1895-1902.

Under *Tattvapariśuddhi* by Jñānaghana, Aufrecht gives 3 references. (Hall p. 110; Kielhorn's Rep. on search for Mss. Central Provinces, p. 118 and Paṇḍit Kāśīnāth Kunte's Lahore Report 1879-80, p. 18). Other manuscripts of the *Tattvasūddhi* available are :

(a) Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras—D. 15729 and R. 2897. The former is complete and the latter contains only 33 chapters.

(b) Appendix C. p. 7 of the Travancore Administration Report for the Kollam era 1102.

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 141, 190, 266 and 363 of the *Siddhāntaleśasaṃgraha*, Ch. Edn.

<sup>2</sup> Intro. verse 4 of chapter I of the *Tattvasūddhi*, where reference is made to Bodhaghana as his teacher.

( c ) Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum, No. 290. This is the same Manuscript as the above ( b ).

( d ). List of Sanskrit, Jain and Hindi Mss. deposited in the Sanskrit College Benares during 1914-15, p. 6 No. 2436.

( e ) Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁsodhaka Maṇḍala—No. 90/7. This is incomplete and contains only the first 19 chapters.

( f ) Mr. M. R. Telang, Karwar, owns an incomplete paper Manuscript of this work which was kindly supplied for the edition.

( g ) Library of the Queen's College, Benares has another incomplete copy beginning in the middle of the 23rd chapter and running up to the end.

The *Tattvaśuddhi* has also a ṭippaṇī on it by one Uttamajña, disciple of Jñānottama. The commentary is in the form of short notes. A copy of the commentary is available in the Madras Library, D. 15730 and in Trivandrum Curator's Library, Cat. No. 291.

The position of Jñānaghana as an authoritative teacher of Advaita is sufficiently vouchsafed by the references to his work by such a great advaita teacher and polymath as Appayya Dīkṣita. I have discussed elsewhere<sup>1</sup> the grounds for placing Jñānaghana about 900 A. D. He does not seem to quote from authorities other than the Upaniṣads, Gītā and the Brahma Sūtras. He is aware of the Uṁvekapakṣa in Mīmāṃsā. His teacher was one Bodhaghana Ācārya, who was a successor of Sureśvara. Jñānaghana was a follower of the Tīkā-prasthāna of Śāṅkara thought, which accepts Brahman as both the Nimitta and Upādāna of the world-appearance, instrumental and material cause of the cosmos. The commentator on the Caturveda-tātparya-saṁgraha ( RASB. No. 5621 ) seems to be different from the author of the *Tattvaśuddhi*. So much for the personal details of Jñānaghana. The present paper aims at setting forth the original views held by Jñānaghana and at an exposition of the contribution he made towards the development of advaitic thought and metaphysics.

Before proceeding further it may be interesting to note a few points with regard to the general nature of the topics that are

<sup>1</sup> Paper on Jñānaghana-pāda in the New Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, ii.

taken up for consideration in the *Tattvaśuddhi*, the style of the author etc. The forty-six chapters deal with forty-six different topics, which are the fundamentals of advaita. First and foremost the very concept of *advaita* (oneness) is taken up. The idea is so important that it deserves treatment first. The realists and other philosophical thinkers could not only not reconcile themselves to the principles of Advaitic thought, but they objected to the very idea of monism. Is it reasonable to hold that there is only one reality and everything is essentially of its nature? The objections are very ably answered by the author and they will be taken up later.

It would be unnecessary and quite unwelcome too, to enumerate here all the topics dealt with in the *Tattvaśuddhi*. Just to indicate the importance of the topics I shall mention only a few. The topics are taken up as follow :—

1. Advaitaprakaraṇa, establishment of Brahman as one and secondless and how the concept of Advaita is maintainable logically.
2. Nirguṇatvapratipādana, Brahman considered as attributeless.
3. Nirvikāratvapratipādana, Brahman without vikāra or change.
4. Sarvajñāstitvasādhana, establishment of omniscience for Brahman, etc. etc. Many other interesting and intricate problems are taken up as Akhaṇḍārthavāda, Sphoṭa-nirākarāṇa, Pravartanā-nirūpaṇa, Bhedābheda-nirāsa, Anirvacanīya-khyāti etc., and they are explained in detail. The last chapter deals with the idea of mokṣa, the *summum bonum* of all human cravings.

The work, as a whole is very characteristic for its lucid exposition of the very difficult problems, in a language, which is understandable and devoid of the extra-logical subtleties. To acquaint the reader with the terminology of the author I shall illustrate below the method adopted by him in just beginning his discussions. The first chapter is entitled Advaitaprakaraṇa and it commences as follows :—

īha khalu nikhilopaṇiṣat-pada-kadambaka-tātparyā-paryālocanā-pariniścitam ananyānubhavānandātma-tattvam adhi-

krtya keṣucit artheṣu tattva-pariśodhanam vidhīyate : atra kecid pūrva-pakṣam utprekṣamāṇāḥ tāvad advaitam Upālabhante ॥

It is quite characteristic of the author to introduce the subject to be considered in each chapter in very clear and simple phrases. A few illustrations may not be out of place.

1. athedānīm vicāryate--kim ānandādayo brahmaṇo guṇāḥ kim vā tatsvarūpam eva—iti ( Ch. II ).

2. sampratī vicāryate--kim Brahma paripāmi nirvikāram vā --iti ( Ch. III ).

3. idam idānīm ālocyate--kim saṁsārivilakṣaṇāḥ sarvajñāḥ īśvaro nāma kaścīd asti, kim vā na--iti ( Ch. IV ).

The first topic that is taken up for consideration is the concept of advaita. All the counter schools of advaita seem to accept a multiplicity of realities<sup>1</sup> and Jñānaghana felt the necessity of explaining to them satisfactorily how the supreme reality of Brahman as one and secondless can reasonably be maintained. Not only that, but also how Brahman alone can be maintained logically as the supreme reality. To give a detailed account of the proofs and arguments given by Jñānaghana in establishing this point will be too much for a single paper like this. And as I have told in the very outset, since the aim of this paper is only to give an account of the original contribution of Jñānaghana to the development of advaitic thought, I shall now proceed to draw attention to those points.

In connection with the question of omniscience (sarvajñatva) of Brahman, Appayya Dīkṣita gives five views of which one is attributed to the author of the *Tattvaśuddhi*. The pūrva-pakṣa, or *prima facie* view is stated as follows : atha katham Brahmaṇaḥ sarvajñatvam saṁgacchate? jīvavat antaḥkaraṇābhāvena jñātrtvasyaiva ayogāt. The jīva or individual can very well be assumed as a jñātā, knower, because he has mind or antaḥkaraṇa. And jīva is the locus, āśraya of consciousness reflected in the antaḥkaraṇavṛtti. But with regard to Brahman the question is quite different. Brahman has no antaḥ-karaṇa and hence it can never be the seat of jñāna reflected in the antaḥ-karaṇa-vṛtti.

<sup>1</sup> The advaitin too accepts a multiplicity of realities in the vyāvahārika state. To him the ultimate reality is one, that is Brahman. It is this ultimate reality that he means when saying that there is only one reality.



Thus how is it possible to ascribe omniscience to Brahman? It cannot be said that Brahman has antah-karana; for by the smṛti 'kāryopadhir ayam jīvaḥ' the antah-karana-upādhi is restricted to jīva alone. Further if Brahman is supposed to have antah-karana, the doctrine of advaita has to be dropped. And Brahman with all the kleśas, miseries and the experiences of the antah-karana will in no way be different from an ordinary suffering soul or individual, and Brahman-realisation, which has been held as the *summum bonum* of life will become ultimately only a store-house of all miseries.

The advaitins give different explanations. Bhāratīśrītha and his followers hold that though the antah-karana be only an upādhi, of the individuals, still the vāsanā (impression) is an adjunct of Īśvara and hence Īśvara can be held as omniscient in that he is the witness of these impressions of all the beings. In other words, Īśvara has for his upādhi the māyā or nescience. This is associated with the intellectual impressions of all beings in the Universe. So that being the witness of these impressions Īśvara can be looked upon as sarvajña. And since Īśvara is only the Ajñānopahita-caitanya, Brahman-intelligence as associated or delimited by the adjunct of nescience, Brahman too becomes omniscient.

The author of the *Prakaṭārthavivarana* explains the situation in a different way. The jīva or individual is said to be a knower because he receives reflections of pure consciousness or intelligence through the association with the transformations of the antah-karana. In a similar manner so far as Brahman is concerned, Māyā is the upādhi to establish knowership. The cognitive vṛttis of māyā receive reflections of intelligence. Since the locus of Māyā is Brahman, these reflections are so to say, received by the Brahman and hence Brahman is omniscient. In the view of the author of the *Prakaṭārtha* the knowledge of the past, present and future are all aparokṣa, immediate.

The above view when examined critically, does not sound well. How can the knowledge of the past or future be immediate? At best knowledge of the past can be a smṛti, recollection, and that of the future only ūha. This point has been explained by the author of the *Tattvasūddhi*, and he makes use of

these for establishing the omniscience of Brahman. Brahman is *sarvajña* in that it can be maintained that perception of the universe is possible for it. Knowledge of the past is quite reasonable as also of the future. So far as past things are concerned, this much can be granted, that the things existed. During their existence, *Īśvara* comprehended them. This comprehension is the realisation of the reality of those objects. And since after realisation there is no reason why the reality should be hidden, *Īśvara* continues to experience all past things. The impressions of these experiences generate in him a remembrance of their respective objects, so that there is the knowledge of all past things for *Īśvara*. Similarly with regard to the future also. Before creation of the Universe *māyā* is transfigured in conformity with the unseen potencies of the various *jīvas* in the form of cognitions of the objects. As witness thereof, it is reasonable to hold that Brahman, too is aware of the forms and names of all objects in future, since *māyā* is its *upādhi*. Thus cognition relating to future things also is intelligible. Compare the text of the *Tattvasūddhi*.

na caivam mantavyam Brahmanāḥ samvinmātrarūpatve prapādivat tasya vartamāna-vastumātrāvabhāsītāt atitānāgata-vijñānābhāvaḥ, tatasca jagat-kāraṇatvābhāvo nāpi sarvajñatvam iti. atīta-samasta-vastujātasya *svasattākāle* sākṣāt-kṛtasya tathaiiva sarvadā avabhāsane punar āvaraṇa-kāraṇābhāvāt tadābhāsa-janīta-saṃskāravattayā ca avicchinnatadviśaya-smaraṇopapattēḥ atīta-sakala-vastu-viśaya-avabhāsa-siddhiḥ tathā brahmaṇo māyā-śakti-mattvāt māyāyāḥ ca sṛṣṭēḥ prāgeva sṛjyamāna-nikhila-padārtha-sphuraṇa-rūpeṇa jīvadr̥ṣṭānusāreṇa vivartamānatvāt, tat-sākṣitayā tadupādhikasya Brahmanopī tat-sādhakatva-siddheḥ anāgata-sakala-vastu-vijñānopapattiḥ iti sarvam suvyavadātam. ( *Tattvasūddhi*, Ch. IV. p. 22 of the Mad. Uni. Edn. ).

With regard to the concept of *sākṣin* also *Jñānaghana* is credited with an original interpretation. The question is why should *sākṣin* be accepted as different from *pramātā*, *prameya* and *pramāṇa* ? There seems to be no necessity to accept *sākṣin* as a separate entity from the above four, including, of course *pramā* also, because all *vyavahāras* are possible without this assumption.

Granting that *sākṣin* is accepted, what is his exact nature? Is it *draṣṭā* or *drśya*. In the first case, is the *draṣṭā*, seer, same as *jīva* or Brahman? If it is identical with *jīva*, it makes no difference between *sākṣin* and *pramātā*. If on the other hand, it be said that *sākṣin* is identical with Brahman, this also will not hold good. In this case *sākṣin* becomes identical with Brahman. Brahman is known only through the scriptural texts and not in the empirical state. In which case, the *sākṣin* which has been accepted by the *advaitins* as one of the factors of perceptual *vyavahāra* (*pratyakṣa-vyavahārāṅga*) cannot be maintained.

Let us take the second alternative, that is, *sākṣin* identical with *drśya*. If this position is held, *sākṣin* will be a *jaḍa*, inanimate object, as a jar or pot and will have to be cognised by another and will no more illumine anything else; and in so far as it fails to illuminate another, how can it be called a *sākṣin*?

There is also no proof for *sākṣin*. For perception fails to establish it, because *sākṣin* is said to be beyond the comprehension of all the senses (*sakala-karāṇa-agocara*). Nor is there any scriptural text establishing the identity of *jīva*, *Ātman* or any other thing with *sākṣin*. Thus for want of proof also *sākṣin* cannot be postulated. This is the summary of the *pūrva pakṣa*.

The *siddhāntin* begins to answer these objections one by one. First of all he tells us the necessity of accepting the concept of *sākṣin*. Otherwise the *vyavahāra* will come to an end. All schools have accepted *jñāna*, desire, hatred etc. What is the proof for their acceptance? Perception fails. It is thus. Perception is mainly divided into two, internal and external. External perception cannot comprehend *jñāna*, desire, hatred etc., for it is accepted that external perception cannot function with *Ātman*, and *jñāna*, desire etc., have been accepted by others as attributes of *Ātman*. Nor can they be cognised by mental or internal perception. For those who hold that *jñāna* is not self-luminous, the validity of one cognition has to be established by a perceptual cognition; this second one also, so far as it is held that cognition is not self-valid, stands in need of another to establish its validity; that too requires another and so on endlessly. Thus in one cognition (perceptual) a series of cognitions will have to be postulated which is against our experience and the

concept of the mind. Because the characteristic feature of *manas* is that it does not admit of simultaneity of cognition (*yugapat jñānānupattiḥ manaso līgam*). Again after setting aside some of the other views Jñānaghana finally says.

*ta smāt sarvavādinām api nitya-sarvagata-svayamprakāśa-tayā yugapat sakala-vastu-sādhana-samartham eka-tattvam antareṇa samasta-vyavahāra-asiddhiḥ | ato vyavahāra-anya-thānupapattiyā sākṣi-sadbhāvasiddhiḥ.*

Then with regard to the objection raised in connection with the identification of *sākṣin* with *jīva* or *Ātman*, Jñānaghana says as follows.

In the concept of '*idam rajatam*' does *thisness* belong to silver or to the piece of shell? The former is unsatisfactory, in which case, after the sublation of error, there cannot arise the cognition of the form '*this is nacre*'; for *thisness* is held to belong to silver and silver no more exists. Nor is the above view conforming to our experience. If *thisness* is held to form part of nacre, no appearance of silver is possible. This too is against experience. Thus both these views are contrary to our experience and are lacking in proof. There is not the cognition of something which is totally different also from the locus and the content in a *bhramā*. That is even in an erroneous cognition, it cannot be said that the cognition is of something entirely different from the *adhiṣṭhāna* or *adhyasta*, for obvious reasons

If the concept of '*idam rajatam*' is explained thus: Really *thisness* belongs to nacre; but so far as the illusion exists, it (*thisness*) appears to be associated with silver. Hence there is no contradiction of proof or cognition of silver in association with the element of *thisness*; the very same procedure is possible for the *Siddhāntin* also. *Sākṣin*, though really it is *Brahman*, still for the explanation of *vyavahāra*, there is nothing unreasonable to hold it to be in association with *jīva* who is in the cycle of bondage in the empirical stage. Thus there is no want of reason or proof for *sākṣin*.

*atha ayam abhiprāyaḥ—paramārthataḥ śuktipakṣatve'pi 'idam rajatam' iti sāmānādhikaranyāt idamamśasya pratibhāśato rajatapakṣatvam, tataśca na pramānavirodhaḥ nāpi pratibhāśa-virodhaḥ—iti; ihāpi tarhi paramārthato brahmatve'pi pratibhāśaḥ*

(pratibhāsataḥ ?) sākṣiṇaḥ saṁsāryantarbhāvaḥ eva । tataśca na pramāṇavirodhaḥ, nāpi pratibhāsavirodhaḥ iti saṁtoṣṭavyam ।

But there is some difference between the two which has been given in the following words :

iyāmstu viśeṣaḥ । śūktitvam idamaṁsāt anyat eva sat bhrānti-samaye anavabhāsamānam pramāṇena idamaṁsātmanā vyajyate । tacca tasya rajatātmatvopamardena avabhāśate । brahmabhāvaḥ punaḥ sākṣimātrabhūtaḥ eva san avidyayā saṁsārasamaye anabhivyajyamānaḥ iva bhavati । tattvam asi iti pramāṇajñānāt ajñānābhībhavate sa eva sākṣi saṁsāropamardena avabhāsa-māno brahmabhāvaḥ ityucyate ।

Sākṣin is self-luminous. Hence he is different from pramātā, prameya, pramāṇa and pramiti. He is the seat of the vibhrama of all this four-fold vyavahāra. Śruti also tells us of sākṣin as karmādhyakṣaḥ sarvabhūtādhivāsaḥ. Thus perception, scripture and presumption all are in favour of the acceptance of sākṣin.

The third point where Jñānaghana has contributed some original views for the development of Advaita thought is with regard to the logical tenability of the concept of Advaita. This question will be taken up now.

In connection with the question of *Samanvaya* or syntactic unity of the meaning of all the Upaniṣadic texts telling Brahman as the one and secondless the pūrvapakṣin remarks as follows :—

nanūpajīvyapratyakṣaviruddham śrutiyuktibhiḥ ।  
bodhyate katham advaitam ?

How can all the Upaniṣadic texts signify Advaita, the one without the second ? Verbal testimony derives its value from perception. Advaita is opposed to perception. And how can scripture, which depends on perception try to prove advaita in supersession of perception ? In other words, advaita enjoined by scripture and supported by reasons is contradictory to practical experience. The cosmos is cognised by perception and at the same time it is different from Brahman. Thus *advitīyatva* for Brahman is not valid. And the Upaniṣadic texts speak of the oneness of Ātman. That is to say, scripture tells us of contradictory facts and hence it will become invalid.

brahmāpekṣayā dvitīyasya prapañcasya pratyakṣasiddhatvāt advitīyatvam tasya bādhitam; tathā ca bādhitē'rthe katham śruteḥ tātpariyam, aprāmāṇyaprasaṅgāt iti bhāvah. (Kṛṣṇā-lamkāra p. 265). To illustrate the point let us take the case of a jar. We say that 'a jar exists'. This is a perceptual cognition. How can the existence of the jar known through perception and supported by other valid means of proof also be negated by verbal testimony or reason? na hi devāḥ sahasram api ghaṭam paṭayitum śtate. The pūrvapakṣin further holds that perception, inference and verbal testimony, all cannot successfully establish the advaita.

Perception has always been observed as having a duality of concept for its content (viśaya). That is to say, first of all there should be an object, say a jar, for perception to cognise. In other words, perception in its very nature demands an object and an indriya to cognise it, i. e. pratyakṣa is indriyānvayavyatirekānuvidhāyi. The process of perceiving, as such implies more than one factor, so that by perception, Brahman as the only existent being cannot be established. Nor can it be said that the concept of plurality, is only an illusion, as the experience of nacre-silver. For in ordinary experiences of plurality it is not found that our cognition of a jar as a reality is sublated at a later moment, as in the case of nacre-silver.

Further, if it be held that the advaita is experienced by perception, then the dvaita-prapañca will cease to be presented in experience even as an erroneous cognition. Just as when the nacre, which is the locus of the erroneous cognition of nacre-silver, is realised as nacre, no error remains.

Nor can inference establish advaita. For in order to establish oneness, necessarily plurality has to be disproved by an anumāna. It is possible to think of an anumāna as follows, to show that bheda, difference, is unreal and really it rests on one factor. The anumāna is as follows :—

vivādagocarāpannaḥ bhedavyavahāraḥ svaviśaya-sarvabhedānugata-ajātyātmaka-ekavastvālambanaḥ bhavitum arhati, bhedavyavahāratvāt, yo yo bhedavyavahāraḥ sa saḥ svaviśaya-sarvabhedānugata-ajātyātmaka-ekavastvālambanaḥ dr̥ṣṭaḥ yathā dvicandrādigata-kālpanika-bhedavyavahāraḥ; tathā ca ayam bhedavyavahāraḥ; tasmāt svaviśaya-sarvabhedānugata-ajātyātmaka-ekavastvālambanaḥ.

The above syllogism is faulty as *bheda* depends on a multiplicity of factors and not on one factor. In ordinary experience we see that difference presupposes two factors.

In a similar manner scripture too cannot successfully maintain the *advaita* concept. It cannot be held that texts like 'ekam eva *advitīyam*' etc. speak of *advaita*. How does the above text establish *advaita*? The words in the above text cannot be taken to mean as follows; 'yad ekam eva tad *advitīyam*, in which case it would not be valid for the reason that it does not convey any new fact. If the words are construed to give the sense that what appears as many here is really one, then also it results in a contradiction of terms. Again the negative particle *nañ*, does not speak of absence of duality, for want of conformity with practical experience. If *nañ* means *tadanya* or *tadviruddha* (separate from that or opposed to that) then also necessarily two factors come in viz. *that* and the *separate*. In this case also *advaita* cannot be meant. Thus perception, inference and scripture all fail to establish *advaita*.

Further what is the authority for *advaita*? Is that too *advaita*? If this is consented, it makes no difference between the *pramāṇa* and the *prameya*. Thus the *advaitin* will be playing into the hands of the Buddhists. If on the other hand, the proof for *advaita* is held to be something different from *advaita*, it means the acceptance of *pramāṇa*, *prameya* etc. in which case too *advaita* concept fails.

Thus there is no valid reason or proof to hold the *advaita* concept.

Jñānaghana answers these objections one by one. The point of his answer is that there is the possibility of a definition of *advaita* and that the *advaita* concept can be logically maintained also. The proofs he advances are scripture, perception and inference.

Scriptural texts like 'sad eva somya idam agre āsīt, ekam eva *advitīyam*' (Ch. Up. VI. ii. 1) etc. establish *advaita*. This tells us that the material world in all its multiple forms existed before creation in its causes. The word *advitīya* denies plurality of its own nature to *advaita* and hence the question, 'what is the denotation of the negative particle, *nañ*?' etc. does not at all arise.

*dvitīyaśūnyam advitīyam iti advitīya-śabde nañarthābhyūpa-*

gamāc ca katham asmin vākye padānām anvayaḥ, ko vā advitīya-  
-śabde nañarthah itī na manaḥ khedanīyam.

If it be said that really there is only one being, how can the experience of the multiple forms of the Universe be explained? The answer is that though in the real state only Brahman is sat, in the empirical state it is reasonable to hold the appearance of jagat as sat. An illustration will make the point clear. Take the case of a rope-snake. Though what is real is only a piece of rope, as understood later by sufficient evidence, still during the period of illusion, the rope appeared as a snake. The snake-appearance cannot be said to be totally absent, in which case no illusion can arise at all.

Further it is also not possible to contradict the validity of the faultless scriptural text by perception, which is liable to be mistaken. Thus 'sad eva somya' etc., is a proof for advaita. The inference in support of advaita has already been given in an earlier context. Perception too establishes advaita. It is thus. Perception of a jar, say for instance, conveys directly only the idea of existence, sattā. The name and form are only later superimpositions on this, so that devoid of this super-imposition, perception gives only the idea of sattā, identical with Brahman, saccidānanda.

The point is illustrated as follows. In an erroneous cognition of the form 'this is silver,' everybody admits that *thisness* is cognised by perception. With the perception of *thisness*, the function of the organ of perception, and the contact with the object come to an end. How then is silver associated with *thisness*, cognised by perception? Necessarily it has to be accepted as superimposed on the existing piece of shell, which is known only as *this* devoid of its empirically real nature. This super-imposition is, of course, due to *bhrama* and we have the experience of 'this is silver'. The *thisness* (idarntā, which amounts to sattā) alone of the piece of shell has been known through perception, devoid of its qualification of shell. In exactly the same way, whenever an object, say a jar, is perceived, what is actually conveyed to one's mind is only sattā or existence. The qualifications, viz., jariness, its shape etc., are later on superimposed on this sattā by the nescience.



This view too is not free from any objection. It has been said above that perception always implies a duality of concept. Jñānaghana says that this view is wrong. How can one understand bheda or difference or duality by perception. In other words comprehension of duality by perception is inexplicable by strict logic. The difference perceived by perception is only a case of *bhrama* ( which is of the *anirvacanīya* type ) and what exactly is understood is only the locus of this error, i. e. *sattā*.

It may well be said that since there is no defect or sublatting cognition arising at a later moment, in an experience of difference, duality cannot be said to be a case of *bhrama*. The above view is incorrect. For difference, is not fit to be perceived by perception, even as time and space. This naturally leads to a discussion of the topic of the exact nature of perception. This question cannot be fully discussed here, as it will be a big digression.

A further objection to the above view may be raised as follows. If it is held that by perception what is understood is only *advaita* in the form of *sattā*, how can one account for the experience of duality in our ordinary life? The answer is quite simple. The experience of duality is only an error, super-imposed as it is, on the perception of oneness, even as silverness is seen of a piece of shell. It may be pointed out here that the analogy is not quite satisfactory. It is possible to experience silverness in a piece of shell for various reasons. For the shell has many qualities like lustre common to silver and shell. By one particular quality of shell say lustre ( *cākacikya* ) combined with the avarice of the person who comprehends this due to want of clear light and defect in the eye of the observer it is quite reasonable to explain the experience of nacre-silver. Through another attribute of the same piece of shell, it may appear as shell, pure and simple. Thus because the shell has many different qualities, it is possible to maintain for it both *bhrama* and reality. But in the case of Brahman, since it is accepted as one and devoid of all attributes, if at all it is experienced, it should be in the form of Brahman alone and not as the cosmic appearance.

The answer to this objection is not far to seek. Though inherently Brahman is not of a multifarious form, still the nesci-

ence accounts for its multiple forms and hence vyavahāra of the world is possible.

True that avidyā causes various modifications. But when by perception the real nature of Brahman is known, there is no nescience and how can it impose upon Brahman its modifications? Well. It is true that when through scripture Brahman is realised there is cessation of māyā or avidyā but not as soon as the sattā is known through perception alone. Even though perception has been told as cognising the reality alone behind the object perceived, still it represents the object in association with nescience. For the absolute reality is beyond comprehension by perception. On the same ground it cannot be said that difference also is real and perceptual. For difference is of the nature of vyavaccheda whereas perception is vidhāyaka. Thus perception, though it has sattā for its content, does not set aside the adjunct of māyā, associated with the object of perception. When by the scriptural knowledge oneness and identity of Brahman with all the objects are known, through the elimination of the delimiting upādhis, ajñāna and its consequences will be removed. As an illustration of this may be given the experience of the identity as known in the very familiar form 'so 'yam Devadattaḥ.' Though the identity of Devadatta be cognised by perception, still the illusion of difference in him caused by the adjuncts of time and space do exist. But when the upādhis of time and space are dissociated from him and the true content of the perception known through pratyabhijñā, the difference in Devadatta, imposed by the upādhis are removed. So also in the case of Brahman, though it is known as *sat* through perception, the māyā or nescience is not removed until the realisation of the identity through the mahāvākyas. Thus it is quite reasonable to maintain the oneness of Brahman.

Another place where Jñānaghana is introduced as an original thinker is in connection with the question of 'practical efficiency' for an illusory object. The question arises thus. In both the views known as the dr̥ṣṭisr̥ṣṭivāda and sr̥ṣṭidr̥ṣṭivāda, the cosmos is accepted as illusory (mithyā). Thus the world is held illusory. How can an illusory object have any practical efficiency? In order that an object should serve some purpose, it should be real. The world according to the Advaitin is illusory. Then no practical purpose or efficiency will be possible

in this world. This would mean that one cannot draw water from a well with a jug, which militates against our common experience.

Some try to explain the situation on the analogy of dreams. There are dreams in which one feels as bathing in water. The dream is unreal, so also the dream-water. But on the other hand in our waking experience bathing in a tank is real and the water in the tank too is real. Thus practical efficiency of the same grade of reality (svasamāna-sattāka-arthakriyākāritvam) exists in both the cases, without distinction.

Some others do not feel satisfied with such an explanation. For in the case of dreams of maiden, snake etc., there is happiness and fear experienced. The happiness, fear etc. though given rise to by a dream content, cannot be accepted as wholly illusory for the reason that the effects are not sublated immediately after waking. This amounts to accepting grades of happiness, fear etc., produced by different grades of assumptive sight, touch etc.

Still others are of opinion that for practical efficiency the cause need not be held as real. In drinking, bathing etc., what serves the purpose is simply the existence of water and not the reality of it. Thus even without accepting the reality of the world, the world can have practical efficiency. This contention implies that even an illusory object, like mirage or nacre-silver can serve some purpose.

The above contention gives rise to an objection as follows :  
 nanu satyatvasya tattadarthakriyākāritāyām atiprasaktatve'pi  
 arthakriyākāritvasāmānye sattvam anatiprasaktatvāt avaccheda-  
 kam eva : anyathā bādhakam śāṅkate.

Though the definition 'whatever is real is practically efficient' may over-reach the limits, or be too wide, the generality of practical efficiency necessarily demands reality as its delimitant. Otherwise there will be a contradiction in experience. It may be possible for one to drink water from a mirage and quench his thirst.

The author of the *Tattvaśuddhi* explains the situation as follows. The water that appears to be real in mirage is not real water but only water-illusion (toya-ābhāsa). There is no wateriness in it. Then how to account for the experience of water ? and the experi-

ssion like *idam toyam* etc. ? The designation of water in mirage is due to the memory-impression of real water at a former period. Thus it is not necessary to postulate the reality of the cause for practical efficiency, since in an error like the above there does not exist the class-concept, which brings about respective practical efficiency.

'marumarīcīkodakādaḥ udakatvajātiḥ nāsti iti tadviśayakabhramasya udaka-śabdollekhitvam tadullekhi-pūrvasaṃskāra-janyatvaprayuktaṃ' iti. Thus in the mirage there is the appearance of water. That water fails to have any practical efficiency because there does not exist any class-concept (wateriness) in it. Hence no contradiction to experience.

The foregoing are some of the salient features of the line of thought adopted by Jñānaghana. A detailed survey of all the topics in the *Tattvaśuddhi* is bound to be a very fruitful subject for investigation. But as the space here will be very insufficient to enter into a discussion, I stop with the hope of taking them up at a later occasion.

# A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE FORMS OF MARRIAGE IN ANCIENT INDIA

( A Résumé )<sup>1</sup>

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## I

According to the available legal-sociologico-scientific literature<sup>2</sup> the development of marriage itself and its forms has been nearly as follows: In the most primitive times no marriage existed and even the notion of marriage was not known. A man was on intimate terms with a woman, but it did not become either a legal or a religious act, so that both the man and the woman were free to live their own lives afterwards.

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<sup>1</sup> Résumé of a large work left behind in Poland on account of war.

<sup>2</sup> Adam: Consanguinity in Marriage in the Fortnightly Review Vol. II-III, London 1865/6. Ancient Laws and Institutions of England, London 1840. Arbois: La famille celtique, Paris 1905. Arner: Consanguineous Marriages in the American Population, New York 1908. Ashton-Rigby: Marriage Customs in Cromarty, in Folk Lore, Vol. XXVII, London 1916. Avebury / J. Lubbock /: Marriage, Totems and Religion, London 1918. Do. The Origin of Civilisation, London 1912. Do. On the Customs of Marriage and Systems of Relationship among the Australians, in Journal Anthr. Inst. Vol. XIV, London 1805. Barton: Marriage / Semitic / in Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol. VIII, Edinburgh 1915. Barna: Notes on the Marriage Systems of the Peoples of Assam, Sibsagar 1909. Baston: Der Mensch in der Geschichte, Leipzig 1860. Do. Die Rechtsverhältnisse bei verschiedenen Voelkern der Erde, Berlin 1872. Do. Ueber Eheverhältnisse, in Z. f. Ethnologie, Berlin 1874. Bebel: Woman in the Past, Present and Future, London 1885. Bentham: Theory of Legislation, London 1882. Bergel: Die Eheverhältnisse der alten Juden im Vergleiche mit den Griechischen und Roemischen, Leipzig 1881. Best: Maori Marriage Customs in Trans. and Proceed. New Zealand Institute 1903 Vol. XXXVI-Wellington 1914. Bishop: New Commentaries on Marriage, Divorce and Separation, Chicago 1891. Bloch: The Sexual Life of our Times in its Relation to Modern Civilisation, London 1908. Bonwick: Daily Life and Origin

of the Tasmanian, London 1870. Brunner: Grundzuege der deutschen Rechtsgechichte, Muenchen, Leipzig 1913. Bruns: Fontes Juris Romani Antiqui, Friburgi and Lipsiae 1893. Bukhārī: Les traditions islamiques, Paris 1903-1914. Cambridge Natural History, London 1895-1909. Campbell: Short Summary of a Paper 'On Polygamy...' in the Anthropological Review, Vol. VLII, London 1870. Cauvet: De l'organisation de la famille à Athènes, in Révue de Législation et de jurisprudence, Vol. XXIV, Paris 1845. Chervin: Recherches medico-philosophiques sur les causes physiques de la polygamie dans les pays chaudes, Paris 1812. Colberg: Ueber das Ehehindernis der Entfuehrung, Halle 1869. Connybeare: A Britanny Marriage Custom, in Folk Lore Vol. XVIII, London 1907. Corin: Mating, Marriage, and the Status of Woman, London 1910. Crasselt: Die Stellung der Ehefrau in Japan, in Anthropos III, Wien 1908. Crawley: Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins, in Anthropological Essays, Oxford 1907. Cunow: Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe und Familie, Stuttgart 1912. Dargun: Mutterrecht und Raubehe und ihre Reste im germanischen Recht und Leben, Breslau 1883. Do. Mutterrecht und Vaterrecht, Leipzig 1892. De-Marchi: Il culto privato di Roma antica, Milano 1896. Doolittle: Social Life of the Chinese, New York 1867. Ellis / Havelock / : Man and Woman, London 1914. Do. Studies in the Psychology of Sex, Philadelphia 1908-1915. Eрман: Life in Ancient Egypt, London 1894. Farrer: Primitive Manners and Customs, London 1879. Friedberg: Das Recht der Eheschliessung in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung, Leipzig 1865. Geary: The Law of Marriage and Family Relations, London 1892. Giddings: The principles of Sociology. Giraud-Teulon: Les origines de la famille, Genève 1874. Do. Les origines du mariage et de la famille, Genève 1884. Gomme / Laurence / : Exogamy and Polyandry, in the Archaeological Review I, London 1888. Gray: China, a History of the Laws, Manners and Customs of the People, London 1872. Greenstone: Polygamy, in Jewish Encyclopoedia X, New York s. d. Gumpłowicz: Zasady socjologii, Warszawa s. d. Hamilton: Marriage Rites, Customs and Ceremonies, of the Nations of the Universe, London 1824. Hammurabis Gesetze in Umschrift und Uebersetzung (Winckler), Leipzig 1904. Hellwald: Menschliche Familie, Leipzig 1889. Hildebrandt: Recht und Sitte auf den verschiedenen wirtschaftlichen Kulturstufen, Jena 1896. Howard: A History of Matrimonial Institutions, Chicago 1904. Hruza: Beitræge zur Geschichte des griechischen u. roemischen Familienrechtes, Erlangen 1892. Kautsky: Die Entstehung der Ehe und Familie, in Kosmos Vol. XII, Stuttgart 1882. Koenigswarter: Études historiques sur le développement de la société humaine, Paris 1850. Kohler: Ein Beitrag zur ethnologischen Jurisprudenz, in Z. f. v. R. Stuttgart 1883. Do. Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe, Z. f. v. R. XII, Stuttgart 1897. Do. Rechtsphilosophie und Universalrechtsgeschichte, Muenchen 1915. Do. Studien ueber Frauengemeinschaft, Frauenraub u. Frauenkauf, in Z. f. v. R. V. Stuttgart 1884. Kovalevsky: Tableau des origines et de l'évolution

Probably this was the situation till the time when the marriage was established by the capture of women, irrespective of the fact as to whether there was a real or a symbolical capture. Through a capture the man acquired a slave. With the beginning of the marriage by capture came in most cases the disappear-

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de la famille et de la propriété, Stockholm 1890. Landa: *Relación de las cosas de Yucatan*, Paris 1864. Lang: *The origin of terms of Human Relationship*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. III, 1907-1908, London. Do. *Theory of the origin of Exogamy and Totemism*, in *Folk-Lore* Vol. XXIV, London 1913. Do. *Social Origins and Primal Law*, London 1903. Do. *Totemism & Exogamy*, in *Folk-Lore* XXII, London 1911. Letourneau: *L'évolution du Mariage et de la famille*, Paris 1888. Do. *Sociology based upon Ethnology*, London 1881. McLanman: *The Levirat and Polyandry*, in *The Fortnightly Review*, new ser. XXI, London 1887. Do. *The Patriarchal Theory*, London 1885. Maine: *Ancient Law*, London 1885. Do. *Dissertation on Early Law and Custom*, London 1883. Do. *Lectures on Early History of Institutions*, London 1875. Malinowski: *Zycie dzikich*, Kraków 1937. Meissner: *Beitraege zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, Leipzig 1893. Milliot: *La femme musulmane au Maghreb*, Paris 1910. Moore: *Marriage Customs, Modes and Courtship, and Singular Propensities of the various Nations of the Universe*, London 1814. Morgan: *The Doctrine and Law of Marriage, Adultery and Divorce*, Oxford 1826. Fischel: *The Races of Man*, London 1876. Post: *Bausteine fuer eine allgemeine Rechtswissenschaft auf vergleichend ethnologischer Basis*, Oldenburg 1875. Do. *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Familienrechtes*, Oldenburg 1890. Do. *Der Ursprung des Rechts*, Oldenburg 1876. Do. *Die Grundlage des Rechts*, 1884. Do. *Die Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, Oldenburg 1878. Do. *Die Geschlechtsgenossenschaft der Urzeit und die Entstehung der Ehe*, Oldenburg 1875. Do. *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg 1894/5. Rivers: *Marriage*, in *Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* VII, Edinburgh 1915. Do. *Sociology and Psychology*, In the *Social Review*, IX, London 1916. Sellami: *La femme Musulmane*, in *Revue Tunisienne* III, Tunis, 1896. Sohm: *Instytucje prawa rzymskiego*, Kraków 1926. Solotaroff: *On the origin of the Family*, in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XI. Washington 1898. Spencer: *Descriptive Sociology*, London 1873-81. Do. *The Principles of Sociology*, London 1882-96. Starcke: *The Primitive Family in its Origin and Development*, London 1889. Strabo: *Geographica*, Berlin 1831. Tillier: *La marriage; sa genèse, son évolution*, Paris 1898. Wake: *The Development of Marriage and Kinship*, London 1889. Westermarck: *The History of Human Marriage*, London 1925. Do. *The Origin of Human Marriage*, Helsingfors 1889. Do. *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, London 1912. Wilutzky: *Vorgeschichte des Rechts*, Breslau, 1903. Zmigrodzki: *Die Mutter bei den Voelkern des arischen Stammes*, Muenchen 1886. etc.

ance of the endogamic system, and a transition to the exogamic system. This last system was therefore more practical too, because through the union of two tribes a more powerful combination was effected, which assisted the tribe in protecting itself against its enemies. In later times more artificial union was formed through child-marriages.

Besides this form of marriage by capture, or in its place, the form of marriage by purchase slowly arose. This form of marriage was of the longest duration and is known till now by many races, which are on a low stage of civilisation. According to this form of marriage the girl who was under the guardianship of her father or guardian was treated as merchandise which can be sold for the highest price to any man. As the seller was chiefly interested in getting the highest price in such a transaction, in the majority of cases he sought, not for the good qualities of the buyer, but only the maximum price he could obtain. There is no doubt that so long this form of marriage was known the girl as a 'merchandise' had no influence on the choice of a husband for herself. The man was chosen for her by her father or her guardian, and from the moment that the agreement was concluded she became the property of the buyer, with which he could do as he pleased. Therefore in this period the woman was nothing more than a slave of her husband.

In course of time this form of marriage came to be regarded as an unhandsome form of marriage, because of the acceptance of the view that man should not be a subject of a pecuniary transaction. He was considered as *res extra commercium*. Besides this the bridegroom-buyer demanded from the seller, together with the girl, a further condition too i. e. a dowry. In this way the form of marriage by purchase tended to disappear, or besides this form of marriage a new form of marriage by sham purchase arose.

According to this form of marriage the real value of the girl was not considered but a fictitious price, i. e. a price, which was very much less than the real value of the girl, was paid to the seller; or payment was made but under this condition that the seller was obliged to give back a part of the price either directly to the buyer or indirectly to the girl for the future husband's use. In such a manner this form of marriage by purchase has been



formally preserved ; but in actual fact it has disappeared, because it had not actual economic effect. With this form of marriage there arises an obligation for the father or for the guardian of the girl to supply the girl with a dowry which might reach the bridegroom through the bride. Also in the case of this form of marriage the girl herself had no influence as regards the choice of a husband because the choice still depended on the will of her father or her guardian.

The next little step after this form of marriage by sham purchase was the complete disappearance of the form of marriage by purchase. So there arose besides this form of marriage (or in place of it) a new form of marriage which rests on the idea that the father or guardian of the girl has made the choice of a husband for her but gave a dowry to the girl. Although the father himself or the guardian of the girl undertook this choice of her husband he had, according to this form of marriage, a moral duty to consider the interest of the girl. Therefore he had to find the best possible suitor for her.

Finally this form of marriage tended to die out, or rather besides this form of marriage, the last and the highest form of marriage arose which rests on a spontaneous and independent agreement between the girl and her future husband without the parents' participation at all.

That is nearly the whole picture of the historical development of the marriage or of the forms of marriage according to the legal-sociologico-scientific literature.<sup>1</sup> With this development is joined the problem of the participation of a priest in the marriage and the need for the execution of a solemn celebration of marriage, the problem of dissolution of marriage (separation) and the participation of a priest or spiritual authorities in this last act, and many other legal problems.

## II

According to events which are connected with the marriage and also according to the participation of the parents or guardians of the two parties at the marriage and the pecuniary considerations governing it, the actual form of marriage was determined.

<sup>1</sup> In the legal-sociologico-scientific literature we still find many other stages of the historical development of marriage.

For that purpose the form of marriage (*vivāha*) describes in what manner the marriage was concluded. In Ancient India<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Āṅgīrasa-Dharmaśāstra*, text & transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. *Āpastamba-Dharmaśāstra*, Govt. Orient. Lib. Mysore 1898. Do. ed. Buehler, Bombay 1868-1871. Do. ed. and transl. Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Do. transl. Buehler in SBE. II, Oxford 1879. *Āpastamba's Aphorisms on the Sacred Law of the Hindus* by G. Buehler, Bombay 1894, 1932. *Āpastamba-Gṛhyasūtra* ed. Govt. Orient. Lib. Ser. Mysore 1893. Do. ed. Winternitz, Wien 1887. Do. ed. Sudarsanacarya (Kasi Sk. Sr. 59). Do. Transl. by Oldenberg in SBE. XXX. *Asvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra* ed. Haradattacarya (Trivan. Sk. Sr. ). Do. Transl. Oldenberg in SBE. XXIX. *Atri-Dharmaśāstra*, ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Bader: *La femme dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris 1867. Balambhatta, being a commentary on the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara, ed. by Gharpure, Bombay 1914-24. Banerjee: *The Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana (Being the Tagore Law Lectures for 1878)*. Bandopadhyaya: *Kauṭilya*, Calcutta 1927. *Baudhāyana-Dharmaśāstra* ed. by E. Hultzsch, Leipzig 1884. Do. Transl. by Buehler in SBE. XIV, Oxford 1882. Bernhoeft: *Altindische Familienorganisation*, in Z. f. v. R. IX. Stuttgart 1890. Bhagvan Das: *The Science of local organisation or the Laws of Manu*, 1932-35. Billington: *Woman in India*, London 1895. V. Bradke: *Ueber das Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra*, in ZDMG. 36. Breloer: *Kauṭilya-Studien*, Bonn 1927-34. Do. *Zum Kauṭilya Problem*, in ZII 7, 1929. Brhaspati-Smṛti, ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Do. transl. by Jolly, in SBE. XXXIII, Oxford 1889. *Cambridge History of India (Rapson etc.)* Vol. I. Cambridge. Colebrooke: *A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions*, 1797-98. Cornish: *The Hindu Joint-Family*, London 1915. Dahlmann: *Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch*, Berlin 1895. Dakṣa-Dharmaśāstra, ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Dutt: *The Social Life of the Hindus in the Rig-Veda Period*, in the *Calcutta Review* LXXXV Calcutta 1887. Fick: *Die Sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas Zeit*, Kiel 1897. Formichi: *Salus populi*, Torino 1908. Do. *Indiani e la loro scienza politica*, Bologna 1899. Foy: *Die Koenigliche Gewalt nach den altindischen Rechtsbuechern*, Leipzig 1895. *Gautama-Dharmasūtra* ed. by Srinivasa-carya, Mysore 1917. Do. ed. by Stenzler, London 1876. Do. ed. in Poona 1910. Do. ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Do. transl. by Buehler in SBE. II, Oxford 1879. Ghani: *Social Life and Morality in India*, in *International Journal of Ethics* VII, London 1897. *Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra* ed. by Tarkalankar in *Bibliotheca Indica*. Do. ed. Bhattacharya in *Pal. S. Sr.* 1936. Do. transl. by Oldenberg in SBE. XXX. Haas: *Hochzeitsgebräuche der alten Inder*, in *Weber, Indische Studien* V. Berlin 1862. *Hārīta-Dharmaśāstra* ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Hillebrandt: *Altindische Politik*, Jena 1923. Do. *Ueber das Kauṭilya Śāstra und verwandtes*, Breslau 1908. Do. *Altindische Politiker*, Breslau 1922. Do. *Aus Alt-und Neu-Indien*.

Breslau 1922. Do. Alt-Indien, Breslau 1899. Hiranyakeśi-Grhyasūtra ed. by Kierste, Wien 1889. Do. trans. by Oldeberg in SBE. XXX, Oxford. Hotzmann: Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata. Hopkins: The Religions of India, London 1896. Do. The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India, as represented by the Sanskrit Epic, in Jour. Am. Or. Soc. XIII, New Haven 1889. Do. India old and new, New York 1901. Johaentgen: Ueber das Gesetzbuch des Manu, Berlin 1863. Jacobi: Ueber die Echtheit des Kauṭilya, SKPAW 1912. Do. Kultur-Sprach- und-Literarhistorisches aus dem Kauṭilya, SKPAW 1911. Jaysawala: Manu and Yājñavalkya, Calcutta 1930. Jha: Hindu Law in its sources, 1930. Jolly: Recht und Sitte, Strassburg 1896. Do. Beitrage zur indischen Rechtsgeschichte, in ZDMG. XLIV, Leipzig 1890. Do. Staatliches und Soziales Leben in Indien, Stuttgart-Berlin 1922. Do. Eine indische Rechtsquelle, in Z. f. v. R. XXXVII. Do. Verhandlungen der I Hauptversammlung der Internat. Vereinigung fuer vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, Berlin 1912. Do. Kollektaneen z. Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra ZDMG. 1914. Kane: History of Dharmasāstra, Poona 1930. Karandikar: Hindu Exogamy, 1929. Kātyāyana-Dharmasāstra, ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra ed. by Jolly and Schmidt, Lnhore 1924. Do. ed. by Shamasastri, Mysore 1924. Do. ed. by Ganapatisastri, Trivandrum 1924. Do. ed. by Karmarkar, Karjat 1927. Do. trans. by Shamasastri, Mysore 1924. Do. Uebers. von Meyer, Leipzig. Do. Trad. Vallauri in Rivista degli studi Orientali VI, Roma 1915. Do. Artha-Śāstrapadasūci by Shamasastri, Mysore 1925. Keith: Marriage (Hindu) in Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics VIII, Edinburgh 1915. Khādīra-Grhyasūtra ed. in Mysore Series. Do. trans. by Oldenberg in SBE. XXIX, Oxford Kohler: Indisches Ehe- und-Familienrecht, in Z. f. v. R. III. Do. Indische Gewohnheitsrechte, in Z. d. v. R. VIII, Stuttgart 1889. Do. Recht der Inder: Kultur der Gegenwart, Teil II, Abt. VII, 1, Allgemeine Rechtsgeschichte, 1. Hälfte 1914. Lassen: Indische Altertumskunde, Leipzig 1867. Law: Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity, London 1914. Do. Interstate Relations of Ancient India, Calcutta 1920. Macnaghten: Principles of Hindu Law, Calcutta 1880. Mahābhārata ed. Calcutta 1834-39. Do. transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1895-1905. Manu-Dharmasāstra ed. by Jones, London. Do. ed. by Mandlik, Bombay 1886. Do. ed. by Jolly, London 1887. Do. ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Do. transl. by Jones, London 1869. Do. transl. by Burnell and Hopkins, London 1884. Do. transl. by Buehler in SBE. XXV. Do. traduit par Loiseleur-Deslongchamps, Paris s. d. Do. traduit par Strehley, Paris 1893. Do. transl. by Jha, Calcutta 1920-1929. Maya Das: Marriage Custom, Allahabad 1883. Meyer: Das Weib im altindischen Epos, Leipzig, 1915. Do. Ueber das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften, Leipzig, 1927. Do. Sexual Life in Ancient India, London 1930. Do. Isoldes Gottesurteil in seiner erotischen Bedeutung, Berlin, 1914. Mayne's Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage, 10th ed. by S. S. Iyengar, Madras 1938.

**Meyer:** Das indische Erbrecht, Wien 1873. Mitākṣarā ed. in Kasi Sk. Sr. 48. Do. ed. in Chowk. Sk. Sr. 1914. Do. ed. in Ben. Sk. Sr. 20. Do. ed. in Bibl. In. 1907. Do. transl. in SBE. with Yājñavalkya's Smṛti Vol. II, XXI. Do. Trad. Paris s. d. Nag: Arthaśāstra et les théories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne, Paris 1923. Nārada-Smṛti ed. by Jolly, Calcutta 1885. Do. transl. by Jolly in SBE. XXXIII, Oxford 1899. Oldenberg: Das Mahābhārata, Goettingen 1922. Do. Zur Geschichte des indischen Kastenwesens, in ZDMG. 51, 1897. Pal: Hindu Philosophy of Law in Vedic and post-vedic times, 1926. Pāraskara-Dharmaśāstra ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra ed. by Bohre, 1917. Do. transl. by Oldenberg in SBE. XXIX, Oxford. Pramath Sarasvati: Hindu Law of Endowments in Tag. Law Lectures. Prasad: The State in Ancient India, Allahabad 1928. Do. Theory of Government in Ancient India, Allahabad 1927. Rapson: Ancient India, Cambridge 1914. Risley: The people of India, London 1915. Samuelson: India, Past and Present, London 1890. Saṃvarta-Dharmaśāstra ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Sankaran Sastri: Fictions in the development of the Hindu Law-texts 1926. Śāṅkha-Dharmaśāstra ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Śāṅkha-Likhita ed. by Kane, Poona 1926. Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra herausgegeben und uebers. von. H. Oldenberg, in Indische Studien XV. Do. transl. by Oldenberg in SBE. XXIX. Sarkar: The political institutions and theories of the Hindus, Leipzig 1922. Sātātapa-Dharmaśāstra ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Schlagintweit: Indien in Wort und Bild, Leipzig 1880-81. Schmidt: Beitrage zur indischen Erotik. Do. Das Liebesleben des Sanskritvolkes, Berlin 1922. Do. Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien, Berlin 1904. Sen: Hindu Jurisprudence, general principles, in Tagore Law Lectures. Shamasastri: Evolution of Indian Polity, Calcutta 1920. Smith: Early History of India, 1908. Do. Oxford History of India, Oxford s. d. Sorabji: Some Notes on the Adhyaksha Book II of the Kauṭilyam Arthaśāstram, Wuerzburg 1914. Steele: The Law and Custom of Hindoo Castes, London 1868. Stein: Megasthenes und Kauṭilya, Wien 1921. Sternbach: Le droit de succession dans l'Inde ancienne, Bull. Intern. de l'Académie Polonaise des So. et des Letters 1938. Do. Prawo spadkowew dawnych Indiach PAU. Kraków 1938. Trevelyan: Hindu Family Law as administered in British India, London 1908. Tripathi: Marriage forms under ancient Hindu Law, Bombay. Uṣanas-Dharmaśāstra ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Vasiṣṭha-Dharmaśāstra ed. by Fuehrer, Poona 1930. Do. ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Do. transl. by Buehler in SBE. XIV, Oxford 1882. Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra ed. by Durgaprasada, Bombay 1891. Do. tłum. na polskie, Lwów 1922. Do. uebers. von Schmidt, Berlin 1915. Do. trad. par Lamairesse s. d. Vidyaranya: A Catachism of Hindu Dharma. Viramitrodaya transl. by Gopalchandra Sarkar Sastri, Calcutta 1879. (Texts vide sub Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra). Viṣṇu-Dharmaśāstra ed. Jolly, Calcutta 1881. Do. ed. Sastri in Tri. Sk. Sr. 1925. Do. ed. and

we find that all events in the life of human beings are clearly marked out and defined. To examine and define all matters gave intense delight to the writers of Ancient Indian scientific literature. For that reason we find in the sources eight or nine forms of marriage. The difference between these forms of marriage is frequently very slight and the marriage concluded according to any one of these forms generally produces the same legal effects. Therefore no difference in legal effect arises from the form in which the marriage was concluded. Only in a few cases, according to some law-sources, some legal effects depend on the form in which the marriage was concluded; but on the whole it appears that this classification of marriage into eight or nine forms is not necessary, because so far as the legal effects of the marriage are concerned the legal sources distinguish properly between two forms of marriage only i. e. the orthodox forms of marriage and other forms of marriage. According to the law-books all the forms of marriage existed simultaneously and

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transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Do. transl. by Jolly in SBE. VII, Oxford 1880. Vyāsa-Dharmaśāstra ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Vyavahāra-Mayūkha ed. by Gharpure 1914-1924. Do. ed. by Kane, Bombay 1879. Ward: A View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos, London 1817-20. Watson: The people of India, London 1868. Weber: Vedische Hochzeitssprüche in Ind. Studien V, Berlin 1861. Do. Indische Studien, ed. by Do. Indische Skizzen, ed. by Do. Ueber die Königsweihe, den Rājasūya, Berlin 1893. West and Buehler: A digest of Hindu Law, Bombay 1884. Wheeler: The History of India, London 1867-74. Wilman-Grabowska: L'Idée de l'état dans l'Inde Ancienne, Warszawa 1933. Winternitz: Das altindische Hochzeitsrituel, Wien 1892. Do. On a comparative study of Indo-European Customs, London 1892. Do. Notes on the Mahābhārata with special reference to Dahlmann's Mahābhārata, in JRAS. 1927. Do. Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, Leipzig 1909-1922. Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra ed. by Vidyarnava, Allahabad 1918. Do. ed Khiste and Hoshing, Benares 1886. Do. ed. Poona 1903-4. Do. ed. Babu Rama, Calcutta 1869. Do. ed. by Babu Shastri Moghe, Bombay 1892. Do. ed. by Ganapati Shastri, Trivandrum 1922. Do. ed. by Narayana Shastri Khiste Sahityacharya, Benares 1924-29. Do. ed. mit Transkription von Losch, Leipzig 1927. Do. ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Do. herausgegeben und uebersetzt von Stenzler, Berlin 1849. Do. transl. by Chandra Bhasu Vidyarnava, SBH II, XXI and SBA III, Allahabad 1913-1927. Yama-Dharmaśāstra ed. and transl. by Dutt, Calcutta 1908-9. Zachariae: Zum altindischen Hochzeitsritual, Wien 1903. Zimmer: Altindisches Leben, Berlin 1879.

side by side. In the law-books the historical development of the forms of marriage is not discernible. Nor can we trace the historical development of the forms of marriage by comparing the various references which we find in the Dharmasāstras and other works.

But we see that all the stages in the development of marriage or of the forms of marriage, which are known to the legal-sociologico-scientific literature, exist in the Ancient Indian Law, which fact gives us the foundation for the statement that the development of the forms of marriage must have followed the same path in India also.

And so we find in all the law-sources the form of marriage by capture. This is the *Rākṣasa-vivāha* and the *Paiśāca-vivāha*. By this form of marriage the Ancient Indian law-books distinguish between marriages where the girl was captured against her will (a) by the use of force only and (b) by the use of cunning. The first is *Rākṣasa-vivāha*, while the second is *Paiśāca-vivāha*.

The forms of marriage by purchase are represented in the Ancient Indian Law by the *Āsura-vivāha* and the forms of marriage by sham purchase by the *Ārṣa-vivāha*. The *Ārṣa-vivāha* gives two criteria by which sham purchase can be distinguished. The first is that the price paid for the girl bears no relation to her value i. e. the price paid is only symbolical and is always the same such as an ox and a cow, which have to be given to the father or to the guardian. The second is that the eventual price had to be repaid to the buyer i. e. to the suitor. Here the father or the guardian of the girl has to repay the price received as if he himself gave a dowry, but in reality this dowry was given for that purpose by the future husband (son-in-law) himself.

Those forms of marriage, which include (a) the choice of a husband for the girl by the father or by the guardian and (b) the duty to give to the girl a dowry or endowment, were recognised in Ancient India, with the form of marriage by sham purchase (*Ārṣa-vivāha*), as the highest forms of marriage i. e. the orthodox forms of marriage. These forms of marriage are recommended and shown as fit to be recognised by the legal and religious sanctions as correct. For that reason they are styled 'orthodox forms of marriage'.

The ancient Indian Jurisprudence distinguishes in this group three different forms of marriage according as they depend (a) on the character of the suitor, and (b) on the person who took the initiative in bringing about marriage. The following forms of marriage come under the heading of 'orthodox forms of marriage'—*Brāhma-vivāha*, *Daiva-vivāha*, and *Prājāpatya-vivāha*.

The marriage was held to be concluded according to the *Brāhma-vivāha*, when the father takes the initiative in seeking a suitable *Brāhmaṇa* husband for his daughter. If the future husband is 'Rtvij' (sacrificer) this form of marriage is called *Daiva-vivāha*. The marriage is held to have taken place according to the *Prājāpatya-vivāha* when the suitor takes initiative. The *Brāhma-vivāha* was recognised as the highest form of marriage, not only in this group of forms of marriage, but among all forms.

The last group of forms of marriage is that in which there is free agreement between the man and the girl without the participation of the parents or guardians. This is represented in the Ancient Indian Law by the *Gāndharva-vivāha*. The predecessor of this form of marriage can be recognised as the *Svayamvara* (self-choice). We find this *Svayamvara* mentioned in the epics.

### III

According to the Ancient Indian Law-books the forms of marriage are represented as follows.

The *Rākṣasa-vivāha*<sup>1</sup> depends on forcible rape of a girl by a man, who intends to make her his wife. According to the *Paiśāca-vivāha*<sup>2</sup> the suitor profits by the unconscious state of the girl, has sexual intercourse with her principally against her will, and afterwards captures her. These two forms of marriage were effected against the will of the girl and that of her parents

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<sup>1</sup> Mn. III-35, Y-I-61, Ap. II-5-12-2, G. IV-12, Vas. I-34, B. I-11-20-8, VI. XXIV-28, N. XII-43, K. II-2, Śaṅkh. IV-6, Mbh. XIII-44, Ādi Parva 112, Kām. Part. 3. Ch. 5., Aśv. I-6-8, Vira-Saṁskāra p. 857. (Hārta, Devala). Vide Mn. VIII-323, Y. II-287, Nar. XXVIII, Brh. XXII-27, 28, 18, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Mn. III-34, Y. I-61, G. IV-13, B. I-11-20-9, VI. XXIV-26, N. XII-43, K. III-2, Śaṅkh. IV-6, Aśv. I-6-7, Kām. Part. 3, ch. 5. Vira-Saṁskāra p. 858 (Devala, Hārta). Vide Mn. VIII-323, Y-II-287, N. XXVIII, Brh. XXII-27, 28, 18 etc.

or guardians. This form of marriage which has its basis in a criminal act was considered, in the time when the law of the Dharmaśāstras and other law-sources came in force, as a forbidden form of marriage, although this was probably the earliest form of marriage. This is also the reason why in this form of marriage the parties concerned might belong to castes lower than Brahmans. Members of the Brahman caste could not conclude a marriage according to this form.

A marriage concluded according to this form was always effected without the participation of the father or of the guardian of the girl. This form of marriage had no pecuniary sequel, because the father or the guardian did not have to give a dowry or endowment to the girl and the suitor did not have to make any payment to the father or to the guardian for the girl. By the act of robbery the girl came under the power of the conqueror and usually became his slave, especially in primitive times. At first the marriage was probably complete merely by the fact of the robbery of the girl but in more recent times the robbery itself became legalised through a solemn act i. e. the wedding ceremony.

*Asura-vivāha*<sup>1</sup> is considered as one of the lowest forms of marriage. This form of marriage depends on an agreement to purchase made between the suitor and the person who exercises actual power over the girl. As long as the suitor was prepared to pay the price that is agreed upon to the other party, the latter was willing to give its consent to the contract.

Therefore this form of marriage is similar to the Roman *coemptio*, especially *coemptio uxoris*. The initiative for a marriage in this form of marriage lay in the hands of the suitor and the girl had no right to choose her husband for herself, because some person who exercised the power over the girl undertook the choice on her behalf. This choice did not depend on any good qualities of the suitor, but rested primarily on his pecuniary posi-

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<sup>1</sup> Mn. III-31, Y-I-61, Ap. II-5-12-1, II-6-13, 12, G. II-11, Vas. I-35, 36, B. I-11-20-7, Vi. XXIV-24, N. XII-42, K. III-2, Saṅkh. I-14-16, Aśv. I-6-6, Mbh. XIII-44, Ādi Parva 112. Vira-Saṃskāra p. 853. (Paithīnasi, Hārīta). Vide Mn. III-51-54, VIII-204, IX-97-100, Y-I-61, B-I-11-21-2, 3, Mbh. XIII-45, XIII-80.



tion and on the price which he was prepared to pay for the girl. Probably afterwards, because the purchase of a person came to be considered as profane, this form of marriage was regarded as incorrect and was destined only for the lowest castes; the purchase of a person was however not considered a serious crime but rather as a breach of the sanctioned legal order.

The fact that the agreement was concluded between the suitor and the person who exercised power over the girl was not considered enough to make the marriage complete. It is very probable that the marriage was concluded only after the marriage ceremony had taken place, although, as it appears, the participation of a priest was not necessary in this matter.

The *Ārṣa-vivāha*, named also the *Rṣi-vivāha*<sup>1</sup>, is based on this fact that the suitor gave to the person, who exercises power over the girl, a gift in order that this gift might be returned to the girl. In this form of marriage therefore a sham purchase took place. The gift was usually a cow and an ox. We can see in this obligation i.e. to return to the girl those objects which the father had received from the suitor, the beginning of the obligation to endow the girl, which forms the *essentiale negotii* of the orthodox forms of marriage. As in the form of marriage named *Āsura-vivāha*, so in this form of marriage too the marriage depends not on the choice exercised by the girl, but on the choice exercised by her father or guardian. This form of marriage differs from the orthodox forms of marriage. In the orthodox forms, the marriage always depended on the father or guardian and sometimes on the fathers and guardians of both parties (for example in the case of the marriage of children), while in the marriage carried out according to this form of marriage the first stage was the choice executed by the suitor and the next stage was the supplementary consent on the part of the father or guardian.

In this form of marriage an agreement to purchase was not concluded, since that meant, according to the views of the Ancient

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<sup>1</sup> Mn. III-29, Y. I-59, Ap. II-5-11-18, G. IV-8, Vas. I-32, B. I-11-20-4, Vi. XXIV-21, N. XII-41, K. III-2, Śaṅkh. IV-4, Aśv. I-6-4, Mbh. XIII-45, Ādi Parva 112, Kām. 23, Vīra-Saṁskāra p. 851 (Devala, Śaṅkha-Likhita). Vide Mn. III-38, 51-54, VIII-204, IX-97-100, Y-I-61, B-I-11-21-2, 3, Mbh. XIII-45, XIII-80.

Indian Law-books, a profanation of persons, and so this form of marriage was accepted as one of the highest forms of marriage and was considered suitable even for the Brahmins.

As in the *Āsura-vivāha*, so in this form of marriage also, the matrimonial ceremony did not take place before the act of sham purchase, although it is likely that the participation of a priest was not necessary.

According to the *Brāhma-vivāha*<sup>1</sup> the father or the guardian chose for the girl a man from the Brahman caste who was endowed with the best qualities. The father or the guardian was obliged to endow the girl too. The scale of endowment to the girl depended on the actual wealth of the father or guardian and had to be given especially in the form of cattle, clothes and jewellery. The girl is given no part in the choice of the man because this choice depended on the will of the father or guardian only. The initiative for the marriage lay with the father or guardian and not with the suitor. In this respect we find the greatest difference between this form of marriage and the *Prājāpatya-vivāha*. Probably the participation of a priest in this form of marriage was not necessary in order to render the marriage valid because the final act of the delivery of the girl to the suitor through the father or guardian completed the marriage. Possibly after the execution of some ceremonial acts the consequences of the marriage followed; in the Ancient Germanic Law the case was nearly the same.

The difference between the *Daiva-vivāha*<sup>2</sup> and the *Brāhma-vivāha* is from the legal point of view very slight, because according to this form of marriage the father or guardian chose a suitor for the girl and was obliged to endow her; the scale of the endowment of the girl depended on the pecuniary circumstances of the father and guardian.

<sup>1</sup> Mn. III-27, Y-I-58, Ap. III-5-11-17, G. IV-6, Vas. I-30, B. I-11-20-2, Vi. XXIV-19, N-XII-40, K. III-2, Śaṅkh. IV-4, Āsv. I-6-1, Mbh. XIII-44, Ādi Parva 112. Kām. 23. Vira-Saṁskāra p. 841-848 (Devala, Saṁvarta, Vyāsa, Yama, Śaṅkha-Likhita, Paṭhīnāsi, Brāhmapurāṇa). Vide Mn. III-37, Y. I-61.

<sup>2</sup> Mn. III-28, Y. I-59, Ap. II-5-11-19, G. IV-9, Vas. I-39, B. I-11-20-5, Vi. XXIV-20, N. XI-41, K. III-2, Śaṅkh. IV-4, Āsv. I-6-2, Mbh. Ādi Parva 112, Vats. 23, Ap. Grh. I-6-2, Vira-Saṁskāra 849 (Devala, Yama, Hārīta). Vide Mn. III-38.

While according to the *Brāhma-vivāha* the father or the guardian gave the girl to a member of the Brahman caste who possessed the best qualities, according to the *Daiva-vivāha* he gave the girl to a 'Rtvij' (sacrificer) while he officiated at a sacrifice. As in the case of the *Brāhma-vivāha*, so in this form of marriage also, the girl had no part in the choice of her husband because this choice depended on the will of the father or guardian. The participation of a priest in this form of marriage was probably not necessary and it is certain that the participation of a priest was not an *essentiale negotii* in the matrimonial act, because the act of the delivery of the girl to a 'Rtvij', while he officiated at a sacrifice, ensured the consequences of marriage, although it is possible that it was necessary to execute a ceremony like *saptapadī* (seven steps). Therefore this form of marriage is very similar to the ancient Germanic forms of marriage according to which the participation of a priest was not necessary for the validity of the marriage.

According to the *Prājāpatya-vivāha* or *Kāya-vivāha*,<sup>1</sup> the father or guardian gave the girl to the wooer, who came in person and who is judged to be worthy, and pronounced a formula in which he summoned the man and the girl to perform together the common religious duties and to take part commonly in joy and mourning. Probably the delivery of the girl to the wooer by the father or guardian was already held to be equivalent to the wedding ceremony (similar to the Ancient Germanic Law) so that it was not necessary to perform a new ceremony in the presence of a priest. According to some law-books the father or guardian had an obligation to endow the girl; the girl had further no part in the choice of a husband but it depended solely on the consent of the father or of the guardian. Here we find the difference between the *Prājāpatya-vivāha* and the *Brāhma-vivāha*; according to this last mentioned form of marriage the father or the guardian took upon himself the choice of the suitor for the girl.

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<sup>1</sup> Mn. III-30, Y-I-60, G. IV-7, B. I-11-20-3, Vi. XXIV-22, N. XII-40, K. III-2, Śaṅkh. IV-5, Aśv. I-6-3, Mb. XIII-44, Kām. 23, Vira-Saṁskāra p. 851 (Devala). Vide Mn. III-38.

According to the *Gāndharva-vivāha*<sup>1</sup> the persons of different sexes who love one another make a joint union by their own choice. In other words this form of marriage depends on the understanding, between a man and a woman who love each other, concerning the marriage. This form of marriage was effected without the agreement of the parents, especially in the case where the girl was robbed with her original consent but without the consent of her parents (as in the *Rākṣasa-vivāha*) and afterwards of her own will commenced a married life with the person who had robbed her. Although this form of marriage passed for an orthodox form of marriage, in the majority of cases it was considered to be non-orthodox form of marriage. On account of the general character of this form of marriage based on love, which does not know any caste-differences, it was open to all members of all the castes. The consent of the girl was necessary in this form of marriage.

*Svayamvara*<sup>2</sup> (self-choice) depended on the right of the girl alone to choose a man for herself. According to the epics the girl had this right with consent of her father or guardian. According to the Law-books the girl had this right without the consent of her father or guardian, almost as a 'punishment' to her father because he had not accomplished the duty imposed on him by the law. The father or the guardian of the girl was compelled to get his daughter married within three years (or three monthly periods) of her reaching the state of puberty.

The *Svayamvara* which we find in the *Dharmaśāstras*, *Arthaśāstras* and *Kāmasūtras* was most probably not a new form of marriage. The rules which regulate this form of marriage (as above mentioned) lay down that only in some cases (i. e. where the father or guardian does not carry out his obligation to marry the girl) the girl had the right to marry a person of her own choice. Probably the sources wanted to lay down clearly in what cases it was possible to marry legally according to the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. III-32, Y. I-61, Ap. II-5-12-20, G. IV-10, Vas. I-33, B. I-11-20-6, Vi. XXIV-23, N. XII-42, K. III-2, Śaṅkh. IV-5, Aśv. I-6-5, Mbh. XIII-44, Ādi Parva 112, Kām. 26, Part 3. Ch. 5. (Schmidt: Beitaage p. 286), Vira-Saṁskāra p. 855, 856 (-Devala, Hārta)-. Vide Mn. IX-97.

<sup>2</sup> Mn. IX-90-93, Y-I-64, B. IV-1-14, Vi. XXIV-40, XVII-67-69, Vas. XVII-67, 68, N. XII-22, 23, G. XVIII-20, Mbh. Ādi Parva 102, Vira-Saṁskāra p. 773 (Yama).

*Gāndharva-vivāha*. The *Svayamvara* is thus firmly linked with the *Gāndharva-vivāha*.

## IV

The classification of marriage into eight or nine forms has, from the legal point of view, no important consequences. The distinction between orthodox forms of marriage (*Brāhma*, *Daiva*, *Prājāpatya* and *Ārsha*) and other forms of marriage (*Āsura*, *Gāndharva*, *Rākṣasa*, and *Paiśāca*) had significance owing to the question of inheritance of the *Strīdhana*, i. e. woman's property,<sup>1</sup> as well as of the designation of the category of sons and their rights,<sup>2</sup> which depended on the priority of the item in the general list of the forms of marriage<sup>3</sup> etc; in this list a certain order was followed (vide Appendix). The higher a form of marriage was placed in the list the greater was the value attached to it; some forms of marriage are intended for some castes only,<sup>4</sup> which fact also is determined on the basis of their priority in the general list.

<sup>1</sup> Mn. IX-196, 197, Y. II-144, 145, Vi. XVII-19, 20, Nar. (Vivādaratnākara p. 518), K. III-2.

<sup>2</sup> Mn. III-39-42, Ap. II-5-12-4, B. I-11-21-1, Yama (Vira-Saṁskāra p. 865). Vide Dakṣa (-Vira-Saṁskāra p. 866).

Mn. III-37, 38, Y. I-58-60, G. IV-30-33, Vi. XXIV-29-37, Aśv. XVI-1-1, Śaunaka (Vira-Saṁskāra p. 868, 864), Śāṅkha-Likhita (Vira-Saṁskāra p. 865).

<sup>3</sup> Mn. III-20, 21, Vas. I-26, 2, B. I-11-20-1, Vi. XXIV, 17, 18, N. XII-38, 39, Nar. (Vira-Saṁskāra p. 846), Śāṅkh. IV-2, Kām. 23, Hārīta (Vira-Saṁskāra p. 846). Ap. II-5-12-3, B. I-11-20-10, 11, Kām. Part 3, ch. 5.

Mn. III-25, G. IV-14, 15, B. I-11-20-10, N. XII-44, Nar. (Vira-Saṁskāra p. 859), Mbh. XIII-44, Ādi Parva 73, 11, Kaśyapa (Parāśaramādhava p. 488), Devala (Parāśaramādhava p. 488).

<sup>4</sup> Mn. III-23, 24, 26, B. I-11-20-12-16, Vi. XXIV-27, 28, Nar. (Vira-Saṁskāra p. 859), Śāṅkh. IV-3, Mbh. Ādi Parva 73-12, Mbh. (Vira-Saṁskāra p. 859), Devala (Vira-Saṁskāra p. 860), Smṛtyantara (Parāśaramādhava p. 487).

## APPENDIX

General list of the forms of marriage according to the  
Law-books

	Brāhma	Daiva	Ārṣa	Prājā- patya	Āsura	Gān- dharva	Rākṣasa	Paśāca
Mānava Dharma- śāstra	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Yājña- valkya Dharma- śāstra	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Śūkhā- yana	1	2	3	4	5	5	7	8
Viṣṇu- Smṛti	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Kāmasū- tra of Vā- tsyāyana	1	4	3	2	0	0	0	0
Kauṭi- lya's Ār- thaśāstra	1	4	3	2	6	5	7	8
Gautā- ma Dhar- masūtra	1	4	3	2	6	5	7	8
Baudhā- yana Dharma- sūtra	1	4	3	2	6	5	7	8
Nārada- Smṛti	1	4	3	2	6	5	7	8
Āśvalā- yana Grhya- sūtra	1	2	4	3	6	5	8	7
Āpastam- ba Dhar- masūtra	1	3	2	0	5	4	6	0
Vasiṣṭha Dharma- sūtra	1	2	3	0	6	4	5	0

# THE CHINESE TRIPITAKA \*

BY

V. V. GOKHALE

( I ) Extent of the Chinese Tripiṭaka ( II ) Buddhism in China  
( III ) Methods of translation ( IV ) Historical significance of the  
Chinese Tripiṭaka ( V ) Philosophical and cultural significance of the  
Chinese Tripiṭaka.

( I ) While giving a discourse on a more or less obscure section of the ancient literature of the East, such as the present, one does not usually expect to be able to reinforce one's descriptions and remarks, by producing before his audience the actual literary documents, which form the subject of one's treatment. On the present occasion, however, the presence of the Shanghai edition (1913) of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, presented recently by the Chinese Government to the Library of this Institute, as well as of the Japanese Taishō edition (1924-, 32 ), belonging to the Library of the University of Bombay, in the halls of this Institute, may serve to make the subject of my lecture somewhat more evident and palpable. — In fact, I consider this to be a happy augury for the development of a scientific interest in this special branch of oriental literature, in this province.

Before I proceed, I must mention two other editions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, which are in current use, besides the two, I have just mentioned. One is the Tōkyō edition of 1885, which seems to have been taken by our Shanghai edition here as its prototype and another is the Kyōtō edition of 1905, ( of which a supplementary section of Chinese commentaries, containing 1756 works, was published in 1912, and later on reprinted in Shanghai in 1923 ). Besides these, Nanjō mentions in his

\* Recently the Government of China presented to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute a complete set of the Shanghai Edition of the *Chinese Tripiṭaka*. We reproduce here the lecture delivered by Dr. V. V. Gokhale on that subject in the Institute's Extension Lecture Series on 10th Sept. 1941.

Catalogue 12 older Chinese and Japanese editions of the Buddhist Canon, published since 972 A. D.

Let me start then to clarify a few issues, regarding the general character of this voluminous literature.—Not that there is any justification for the existence of any vagueness in this respect, because anybody who cares to go even cursorily through the wellknown Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka in China and Japan, prepared by Bunyū Nanjō at Oxford in 1883, or the Catalogue of the recent Taishō edition, published as a Supplement to the Hōbōgirin Dictionary of Buddhism in 1931 at Tōkyō by Lévi-Takakusu-Demiéville, will have no difficulty in forming a fairly correct estimate of the contents and value of this literature. But to remove a fairly widespread misunderstanding, that all, that is of any essential value in the Indian Buddhist literature, is exhausted by the Pali Canon, which has been until now almost the exclusive source of our knowledge of Buddhism in this part of the country, or that the Chinese tradition represents only the later Mahāyānistic developments of Buddhism, which is moreover supposed to be the outcome of a more or less unsystematic adaptation of the Indian religious thought to the cultural superstitions, prevalent in the East Asiatic continent, or that the Mahāyānistic philosophy in China has little or nothing in it, that is original or that is not either anticipated or settled later on by the Brahmanical or Jainistic systems of thought, that are current today in India,—to remove such and other misconceptions, it is necessary to recount a few facts about the composition and the historical development of the Chinese Buddhist literature.

For the purpose of a rapid survey, we have to, for the time being, leave out of account that enormous section of Buddhist literature, consisting of commentaries, and original treatises on Buddhist subjects, written by the Chinese and Japanese scholars themselves, during several centuries upto the most recent times. This kind of literature is still growing and it includes a large number of old works, exegetic and sectarian, sermons in temples and monasteries, miscellaneous biographies, iconographic treatises, guides to Sanskrit alphabet, vocabulary and recitation and what not,—all of which may be said to represent the non-



canonical Buddhist literature. The line between this and the classical canonical literature is after all not drawn very clearly, because it does sometimes happen, that books, not accepted in the Canon, come to be regarded with equal or even greater respect than the canonical ones.

Restricting ourselves therefore only to the canonical part of the Chinese Buddhist literature, i. e. the Chinese Tripiṭaka proper, if we examine the ancient lists and catalogues of this collection, prepared in China, Korea and Japan, we find, that the Chinese Canon has been changing from one period to another. A catalogue, prepared in the year 520 A. D. mentions 2213 distinct works, while another, prepared in 695 A. D. there is a list of no less than 4475 works, admitted into the Canon. In the next Catalogue of 730 A. D. the number sinks down to 2278 and then it continues to vary, till coming down to the Ming dynasty in 1600 A. D. we have a catalogue of 1662 works, on which Nanjō's work is based. Since then again, as a result of reorganization and new discoveries, the Chinese Tripiṭaka has been increasing. The set of the Shanghai edition, which is now before you, contains a total of 1916 works, large and small, while the most upto date edition of the Taishō Tripiṭaka has published a Chinese canonical section of 2184 works.

(II) It is quite characteristic of the self-centred implicitness of our classical Indian tradition, that in Indian literature itself there is nowhere any mention of either the existence of these two thousand and odd Chinese works, based as they are on Sanskrit and other Indian originals, or of the events, which led to their production outside the limits of India. Ever since the year 67 A. D., when the Emperor Ming Ti of China, having vividly dreamt of a golden image of the Buddha, invited Indian Buddhists to China, who made the first translation of a Buddhist Sūtra into Chinese, Indian and Chinese Pandits have, during a long period of a thousand years and more, sat side by side in Chinese temples and monasteries to concentrate all their learning and ingenuity upon this laborious and most difficult task of interpreting the Indian thought to the Chinese in their own language. Those who know something of the nature of the Chinese language, with its "picture gallery" of symbolic writing, of the Chinese classical thinker, with his practical bent

of mind, turned away from metaphysical disquisitions, and something of the tremendous physical obstacles, which these missionaries had to surmount in establishing mutual contacts, will easily realize the immensity of the task, accomplished by these people, inspired by religious zeal and a new idealism. The contents of this Chinese Canon, based on Indian originals, a large part of which has fallen a prey to the ravages of time, is calculated by one European author to be nearly *one hundred times* those of the Pali Canon, all of which is practically included in one form or another in the Chinese Tripitaka. We need not reject this estimate as an exaggeration, if we take into account the fact, that one Chinese ideogram can represent one full word in the Indian language. And yet the fact remains, that our Indian classical tradition is typically, blissfully ignorant of what was happening in China, during the first Christian millenium, to some of, not only the most prolific, but also the richest creations of the Indian mind.

The advent of Buddhism in China and its subsequent progress is probably comparable in the world-history only with the introduction and spread of Christianity in Europe. From time to time the Buddhists and their monasteries had to suffer at the hands of the State. In 306 A. D. Emperor Hui Ti ordered many foreign books to be burnt and forbade the Chinese to become priests. In the fifth century an edict was issued for destroying Buddhist books. In 714, 845 and the first half of the tenth century A. D. thousands of monasteries and temples were either closed down or destroyed and monks and nuns forced to return to secular life. It may be mentioned in passing, that it was these persecutions, that were largely responsible for the migration of Buddhism from China into Tibet, where it developed rapidly into the present Lamaism. However, there were other times, when Buddhism enjoyed special privileges and flourished under the Chinese royal patronage. It was Emperor Ming Ti, who was responsible, as has been mentioned above, for the official introduction of Buddhism in China, although, in an unofficial manner, it must have reached there much earlier. In 451 A. D. a royal decree authorized the establishment of a Buddhist temple in every city. Already in 369 A. D.

it had entered the northern part of Korea, whence it was sent to Japan in 552 A. D. If the Chinese Buddhist tradition has not forgotten the three royal persecutors, all called "Wu", of the Northern Wei, the Northern Chou and the T'ang dynasties, the memory of the Buddhist king Wu Ti of the Liang dynasty in the sixth century, who became a monk in his later life, will always be cherished with love and admiration. It was during his reign, that the Indian Buddhist Patriarch Bodhidharma arrived in China and propagated the Dhyāna school, which has since then enjoyed a great popularity in the Far East upto the present day. The T'ang dynasty (618-907 A. D.) has been called the Golden age of Chinese Buddhism. Learned scholars like Hsüan-Chwang and I-Tsing visited India during this period and perfected the technique of translating Sanskrit into Chinese to such an extent, that the Buddhist way of thinking began to influence decisively even the indigenous Confucian and other currents of thought. This penetration of the Chinese spiritual world was so thorough-going, that during the following Sung dynasty (960-1279 A. D.), which was mainly a period of Encyclopaedias and Catalogues, Buddhism was found to have been completely assimilated and transformed into a living force by the spirit of China. As such it continues to exist even to this day as an integral part of the spiritual and intellectual equipment of Chinese life.

(III) It would be interesting to consider for a while the methods followed by these Indian Chinese Buddhists in creating and establishing this new literature. We have a total record of about four hundred scholars, working throughout all these centuries, a few of them belonging even to the 17th and the 18th centuries. During the first four centuries of the Christian era, there were not many Indian Mss available to the translators, who had to rely mainly on oral recitation of the Indian texts. Later on, however, Chinese monks began to undertake pilgrimages to the Holy Land of India, often with the special purpose of obtaining original Indian texts; at the same time more and more Indians migrated to China, carrying loads of sacred texts with them. Paramārtha, the celebrated Brahmin from Ujjayanī, who arrived at Canton in 546 A. D., is said to have taken with him 240 bundles of holy texts. During the Sui dynasty (590-618), 564

bundles are said to have arrived in China from Lin-i, i. e. middle and south Annam. Ten thousand Mss are reported to have been stocked in the house of Bodhiruci, the famous Indian Brahmin, who was working on translations at Lo-yang. Today not very much is known about the further adventures and the final fate of these Indian Mss libraries, transferred to China, excepting that a large and important part of them came to be translated and preserved in our present Chinese Tripiṭaka.

The history of the Chinese translations may be divided into three distinct periods: The initial period of imperfect and uneven translations lasted from the beginning in 68 A. D. upto the time of Kumārajīva's work in the fourth century. The second period may be supposed to extend from the days of Kumārajīva upto the days of Hsüan-Chwang in the seventh century. If Kumārajīva (344-413) was the first Indian translator to use the Chinese language with consummate skill and perfect mastery over the Chinese idiom, Hsüan-Chwang (602-664), who has nearly 75 translations to his credit, was a great Sanskritist, who had defeated the Indian Pandits on their own ground, and had laid down once for all a thoroughly systematic technique of translation, which was deservedly followed by all later generations as the standard method of interpreting Sanskrit thought in Chinese.

During the first period of translations (i. e. from the 1st to the 4th century A. D.) generally two to four scholars were enough to undertake a Chinese translation of an Indian text: one chih-pen (*mūlādharma*) recited or, if a Ms was available, read out the original text and explained its meaning. He had an assistant, called i-yü (*śabdaparivartayitṛ*), who was either an Indian, or as later on a Chinese, who could translate the text into Chinese and dictate it to a Chinese penman, called pi-shou (*lekhanika*), who also did the important work of correcting and polishing the style. The Parthian monk An Shih-Kao of the second and Dharmarakṣa of the third century A. D. were two of the greatest organizers and learned linguists of this period, who together were responsible for about 150 translations. This work of translation was generally undertaken privately or in monas-

teries, where the Buddhist *samgha* took the initiative during this first period.

Since the appearance of Kumārajīva on the scene of action this work gained a new and sudden impetus. His impressive personality and excellent pedagogic qualities, combined with an uncommon mastery over the Chinese idiom at once made him a centre of attraction for the Chinese Buddhists. His friendship with the Chinese ruler, Yao Hsing, gained for the work of translations direct royal support for the first time in Chinese history. In the Hsiao-yao Garden, specially placed at his disposal by the king, Kumārajīva translated over 50 Indian texts into Chinese with the help of only one penman (pi-shou) in the presence of an admiring audience of hundreds of monks and disciples. This kind of Sino-Indian literary production became hereafter so popular, that during the next five centuries, centre after centre came to be opened in different parts of the country for such meritorious work. More than twenty big centres are known to have carried on this activity either in monasteries or official and royal palaces at Ch'ang-an, Lo-yang, Chien-yeh and other cities. As the translations became more and more critical, and refined, two new members came to be added to the translation-committee, especially after Kumārajīva's time. The former office of the Chinese penman was now divided among two members, the new member being called cheng-i (*arthaparīkṣaka*), who finally examined whether the sense was properly interpreted. Between 590 and 907 A. D., when under the Sui and the T'ang dynasties this "thought-transference," in a very concrete sense, between India and China had reached the highest point of its intensity, several further offices were enjoined: One specialist was appointed to verify the correct significance of the translated text, another to examine it from a linguistic point of view. Later on, there used to be also a proof-corrector, a revisor, and general directors. The opening ceremonies of such translation-sessions were celebrated by the singing of the Buddhist litanies and various forms of ritual and worship, including *homa*, *maṇḍala*, *arghya* and *gandhākṣatadhūpadīpanaivedyapradakṣiṇā*'s etc. It must be remembered, that even royal personages used to participate actively in these sessions. Emperor Wu Ti,

Empress T'ien Hou and Emperor Chung Tsung among others have worked in the capacity of redactors and have exercised their Chinese brushes in the service of these holy organizations.

We may here refer to a detailed description of the activities in one such Translation-Hall, started in 980 A. D. by the order of the Emperor. The work of the Hall, we are told, was divided in three apartments. In the central one was conducted the chief department of translating the texts; the eastern apartment, a corner of which was reserved for the altar, where the religious ceremonies, referred to above, were performed, was allotted to the stylists, who undertook to polish the language, while the western apartment was occupied by those, who carefully checked the accuracy of meaning.....After the opening ceremonial rituals were gone through, the translator-in-chief, i-chu (*parivartanādhipati*), took his seat at the head and explained the Indian text. The examiner of meaning, cheng-i (*arthaparīkṣaka*), who sat on his left, then discussed the sense with the translator-in-chief. The third person, the examiner of text, cheng-wen (*granthaparīkṣaka*), sitting on the right side, listened carefully to the recitation of the chief translator to assure himself of its correctness. The fourth member was the amanuensis, shu-tzu (*taulika*), who could understand the Indian text, also listened to the recitation and wrote down the Chinese transcription of the Indian text. Pi-shou (*lekhanika*), the penman, then took up the transcribed words and translated them into Chinese. The sixth member of the Committee, called cho-wen (*granthaviracaka*), the text-composer, then put the Chinese ideographs into syntactical order and composed suitable sentences. The seventh, ts'an-i (*parivartanamāntrin*), compared both the texts and saw that the translation was accurate. The eighth scholar, k'an-ting (*parīṣkāra*), cut off all superfluous expressions and made the style pithy and even. Lastly, the ninth collaborator, called jun-wen (*granthapoṣaka*), the revisor of the composition, sat facing the southern end and constantly kept himself in touch with the assembly of listeners.....The description goes on further to say, that the whole assembly took a bath every day, that each monk, wearing three garments and sitting

upon his seat, was a picture of dignity and majesty, and that all their requirements were fulfilled by the state. We may be sure, that these requirements involved a by no means negligible amount of expenditure, as history has recorded official complaints against the disproportionately large budgets of these translation-bureaus.

(IV) After the peep we have had into the methods, by which this Chinese Buddhist literature was brought into being right from the beginning of the Christian era, it would be difficult to undervalue the reliability and faithfulness of the Chinese Buddhist traditions, firmly founded upon original works of Indian masters of Buddhist thought. Before we take our leave of these conscientious, learned men, one important aspect of their work may here be specially alluded to, that one, viz., which is of a significant value to the reconstruction of Indian chronology. The Indian classical tradition, which has proved its incapacity for any historical sense by allowing its greatest poet, Kālidāsa, to be attributed to any time within a period of one thousand years, and its most sacred Vedic literature to any period within a range of several thousand years, cannot but show itself in contrast with the remarkably keen sense of history, exhibited by the Chinese through all these ages,—the Chinese, who claim to possess a chronological tradition, dating back to twenty-three centuries before the Christian era, who produced one of the world's great historjans, Ssū-ma Ch'ien (145-c. 86 B. C.) already in the second century B. C., and who, in respect of the subject we are discussing, viz., the Chinese Tripitaka, have faithfully recorded the dynasty and the year, in which each of these translations from Indian texts was prepared. These dates of the Chinese translations, represent as they do the latest marginal years for the composition of the translated Indian texts, can thus provide us with important clues to the relative chronology of Indian literature and history in general, which have not yet been thoroughly exploited.

We may now turn to another important question : What has the Chinese Tripitaka to tell us about the original teaching of the Founder of Buddhism and its development through all these centuries? A satisfactory answer to this question has yet

to be given, and it will have to wait till a comparative study of this and other versions of Buddhism, obtained in Pali, Tibetan and Sanskrit among others, has been undertaken on comprehensive lines and the history of the ancient Indian culture revealed through it in its dynamic and revolutionary aspect.—Dynamic and revolutionary, because the spirit of Buddhism, which spread the Indian culture throughout the length and breadth of the Asiatic continent, does represent the dynamic, reforming and combatant aspect of the Indian mind, as distinguished from the unchanging, conservative and uncompromisingly adaptive spirit of Brahmanism.

What we know at present about the original teachings of the Buddha is simply, that their various interpretations by the various sects, which came into being after the death of the Founder, have come down to us in a more or less confused form as preserved in various Asiatic languages. Modern comparative research is making it more and more clear every day, that the Chinese translations of the Āgama's, i. e. the Sutta's, supposed to contain the words of the Buddha himself, had their originals in a language, which was neither Pali, nor Sanskrit, but a form of Prākṛta, whose exact character is still undetermined and in which there are practically no original texts available today. We are thus led to presuppose, that the Buddhist Canon, underlying the Chinese Āgama's was not the Pali Canon, but another Canon in some Prākṛta dialect, both of which might have after all sprung from a still older original Canon, in the Māgadhī, which we understand to be the language, in which the Buddha delivered his sermons. The research workers of the Bhandarkar Institute are conversant with the difficulties in fixing up the archetype of the Mahābhārata. In the case of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, these difficulties are multiplied on account of the diversity of the sources to such an extent, that they will remain unsurmounted, till, in imitation of the creators of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, a band of scholars from different countries have put their shoulders to this task for a number of years to come. To fix up the Ur-Tripiṭaka will mean a thorough comparative investigation of all the Tripiṭaka versions as they exist today, first and foremost in Chinese, and then in other languages



like the Tibetan,—also the Mongolian, although it represents a very late tradition,—not to speak of the Pali and Sanskrit traditions, including those of the Central Asiatic fragments, that have been recently discovered. And then, even if the Ur-Tripitaka were to be reestablished some day, it would scarcely represent the teachings of the Buddha himself in their proper sequence, because this classification of them into three Piṭakas or Bundles is itself quite obviously a post-Buddha arrangement. What we know so far about the history of the Buddhist canonical development, especially from Chinese sources, is that the First Council was held two months after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa for compiling the Tripitaka, under the presidency of Sthavira Kāśyapa at Rājagṛha, when there was already a nominal schism between his 500 Arhats and the majority party, called the Mahāsāṃghikas—we may call them the Buddhist Bolsheviks—under the leadership of Bāṣpa. Hereafter, one hundred and sixteen years later, a second Council was held at Pāṭaliputra, under the royal patronage of Aśoka, where we see a veritable doctrinal schism, caused by the much maligned Mahādeva, who is said to have fabricated new Sūtras freely and authorized his disciples to compose as many of them as they pleased. The quarrel was decided by Aśoka in favour of Mahādeva; the orthodox Sthaviras took to their heels and established themselves in the Kāśmīra, where later on they wrote the *Vibhāṣās*, which are still preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka. In the meanwhile Mahādeva had died, and a reconciliation seems to have been attempted by inviting the Sthaviras back to Pāṭaliputra and holding a fresh council to expurgate from the Canon the innovations, made by Mahādeva, and re-examining the famous five points, raised by him,—all of which however seems to have ended in a fiasco. By the way, this double council, held under the auspices of Emperor Aśoka may perhaps be an approach to the Pali tradition, which speaks of two different councils, held under two successive Aśokas. It is unnecessary to follow up here in detail the later history of the Buddhist Church, during which the orthodox Sthaviras split themselves up into several Hinayānist schools, including the Sarvāstivādin, the Mahīśāsaka, the Dharmagupta, the Kāśyāpiya etc., whose

Vinaya-traditions are separately preserved in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. From among the heterodox Mahāsāṃghikas arose the the Mahāyānist doctrine, which gave Buddhism in course of time a most comprehensive and complete metaphysical and ontological system of thought. Whatever researches have been made so far in the Chinese Tripiṭaka and other allied literature thus allow us to speak today of a Buddhism of Magadha, a Buddhism of Kausāmbī, a Buddhism of the Āndhra and a Buddhism of the North-West, which developped the Abhidharma literature and became later on the cradle of the new Mahāyāna doctrine. If we add to these different Buddhisms, the Buddhisms of Serindia, Sogdia, Korea, Japan, Siam, Burma, Ceylon and other more or less important geographical units in different periods of their history, we need not wonder, that the attempt of the Buddhist scholars to understand Buddhism has been compared by one scholar to an attempt of a number of blind men to arrive at a unanimous and faithful description of a huge elephant.

( V ) The present state of affairs with research in historical Buddhism will thus appear to be pretty miserable ; but as I have tried to explain above, the use of our masterkey of the Chinese Tripiṭaka is bound to open many an unknown apartment, rich with illumination, in the grand and colourful structure, based on Indian thought, we call Buddhism. Modern scholars have expressed widely divergent views, regarding the origins and the essential value of Buddhist thought. In recent years a controversy has raged among European scholars, regarding the conception of the Nirvāṇa, the *summum bonum* of the Buddhist faith, and consequently over the essential significance of the Buddhist thought as a contribution to world-philosophy. The interpretation, that Buddhism arose out of a naive, unscientific and more or less superstitious attitude towards the world-phenomena and that it later on developed into a pessimistic and negativistic devotional mysticism, appears to be gradually losing ground to the more optimistic view, that Buddhism represents the evolution, through various stages, of a philosophic system from a pluralistic realism such as is represented by the Hīnayāna, into a Monistic idealism, as represented by the Mahāyāna, both presupposing the background of a denial of all hypothesis ( *Voraussetzungslosigkeit* ). This illuminating and not in the least unamusing controversy, led by the late Louis de la Vallée Poussin on one side and Prof.

Stcherbatsky on the other, has brought into play numerous weapons in the armoury of literary evidence on both sides. Whatever view is justified in the end after a long and rigorous application of purely objective methods of interpretation, one point seems to emerge clearly out of the mist of contention and prejudice, viz., that Buddhism was from the very beginning wedded to a rationalistic attitude of mind, be that rationalism a philosophical one or a logical one. Buddhism in every age claims to have purged the contemporary mind of its superstition and unreason. In its earlier days it seems to be interested in a simple rational purification of the ethical standards, obtained in the days of its Founder, while in its later Mahāyānistic developments it undertakes, on the basis of logic and theory of knowledge, a thorough refinement of the philosophical ideas, current in the centuries around the beginning of the Christian era, when most of the Indian philosophical systems seem to have taken their birth. It is this rationalistic attitude, as opposed to the revelationism of the other systems of faith, which has earned for Buddhism the enthusiastic praise, that "it is the only religion today, which allows itself to be thoroughly reconciled with modern science."

But to return to our sources :

To comprehend the full significance of this mighty current of thought, we have to start today from a study of the Chinese, Japanese and other traditions, which are still living and powerful, and not from the Indian ones, which are today found to be to a large extent either assimilated with other forces, or extinct. Just as in trying to interpret the ancient Brahmanic systems of sociological and philosophical thought and even the Vedic scriptures, it is regarded as a gross mistake, if one neglects their later expositions that tradition has handed down to us through the centuries, we must learn to regard it as unpardonable negligence, if one attempts to interpret the Buddhist cultural and philosophical thought and the teachings of its Founder by leaving out of account these living traditions of the Far East, — all the more so when a very large and important portion of the original Indian literature on this subject has been found to be lost beyond hope of recovery and preserved only in foreign translations. In China and Japan a voluminous sectarian literature, belonging to about twelve different Buddhist schools is studied at present and it can be divided into four groups according to the four different paths of

salvation, recognized by Buddhism. These paths are: the Path of Meditation (*dhyānamārga*), the Path of Knowledge (*jñānamārga*), the Path of Action (*karmamārga*) and the Path of Devotion (*bhaktimārga*) and they represent a long and unbroken religious tradition, founded on the works of some of the greatest Indian thinkers, like Maitreya, Āśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṃga, Vasubandhu, Sthiramati, Diṇnāga, Bhāvaiviveka, Dharmapāla among a number of others, many of whose works are preserved today only in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. These men worked during a period, when constructive and systematic philosophy in India had risen to heights, never reached by it either before or after. It is interesting to note, while passing, that the above fourfold methodological division of the Path of Salvation into *dhyāna*, *jñāna*, *karma* and *bhakti*, recognized in the Buddhism of the Far East, is also referred to in one of our ancient and most popular philosophical text-books: viz., the Bhagavadgītā, which I am tempted to quote here. In Chapter XIII, verses 24-25 run thus:

Dhyānenātmani paśyanti kecidātmānamātmanā ।

Anye Sāṃkhyena yogena karmayogena cāpare ॥ 24 ॥

Anye tvevamajānantaḥ śrutvānyebhya upāsate ।

Te'pi cātitarantyeva mṛtyum śrutiparāyaṇāḥ ॥ 25 ॥

"Some engage themselves in an introspection of their own Self by means of Meditation, others do it by means of the philosophical method of the Sāṃkhya, still others by following the Path of Action ( 24 ).

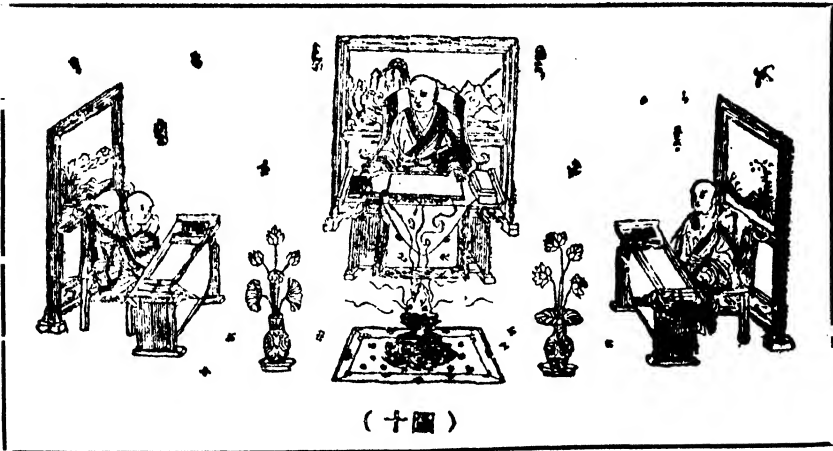
And, then, there are others, who, not knowing anything about this, merely put their faith in the words of others and serve. Verily do these devoted listeners also cross over the ocean of Death ( 25 )."

In a truly authentic history of the Indian philosophy, whenever it comes to be written, these Buddhist philosophical systems, ranging from the Relativism of the Mādhyamikas, based on the dialectical method, to the transcendental idealism of the Vijñānavādins and the critical epistemology of Diṇnāga and Dharmakīrti, will have to be given an important place, as being the predominant factors in the evolution of the Vedāntic philosophy, which has dominated the other systems since the days of Śaṅkara.

As regards the contributions, which the Chinese Tripitaka has to make to our knowledge of various other realms of ancient Indian thought, a passing reference to the Vinaya and the Avadāna literature, preserved in Chinese, as well as to the Tantric literature, which forms one of the most voluminous sections of popular literature on religion and art in East Asia, will suffice to remind you of their significance. To recover all these literary treasures, it will be necessary to break open the seals of the Chinese script, under which they have been preserved through the dark ages of Indian history. The Chinese philology, with its somewhat preposterous claims upon the visual faculty, is difficult to handle for an Indo-German, who is trained to concentrate mainly upon his powers of audition for the purpose of intercommunication. The Chinese language of the Buddhist Tripitaka, however, is moulded by the original Indian idiom to such an extent, that the Indian scholar, conversant with the Buddhist modes of thought, is bound to have a distinct advantage over even the Chinese classical scholar, in interpreting correctly the original significance of the Chinese Buddhist terms. Since 1857, when the Russian scholar, V. P. Vasiliev, tried to revolutionize the Buddhistic studies by utilizing for the first time the Chinese traditions for his treatment of Buddhism, a number of European scholars have devoted themselves to the task of attacking from various sides the problems offered by the Chinese Tripitaka. The names of Lévi, L. de la Vallée Poussin, P. Pelliot, Tucci, Walleser, Rosenberg and the Japanese scholars, Wogihara, Takakusu among a host of others, will be long remembered for their approach to these problems from the Indological side. In India proper, where research-interest in Indology itself has in a general sense still to break through its covering shell of self-complaisance, there is very little to say, regarding this particular branch of investigation. However, the recent establishment of a Research Institute for Sino-Indian Studies, (with the active sympathies of the Chinese Government,) at Santiniketan, and the contribution made by Prof. P. C. Bagchi of the Calcutta University to these studies should not pass unnoticed.

I hope, I have been able to give you this evening some idea of the contents, the history and the cultural significance of this Sino-Indian branch of literature, we call the Chinese Tripitaka, and also to impart to you a little of the expectations and enthusiasm, with which a number of scholars all over the world are engaged today in making its conquest, on behalf of the ancient Indian culture.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From among the sources, utilized by me in presenting some points in the above discourse, I may specially mention the relevant articles, published by Friedrich Weller and Walter Fuchs in Vols. V and VI of the *Asia Major* (Leipzig) and Paul Demiéville in the first volume of the *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* (Bruxelles).



Hsüan-Chwang, translating the Buddhist Sūtras

—By courtesy of the Cheena-Bhavan, Santiniketan

## THE SŪTA SAMHITĀ

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., Ph.D.

The Skānda seems to be the most intangible of the Purāṇas ; it is well-known that there are two independent Skāndas, the northern and the southern; the former is divided into main khaṇḍas and has been published in Devanāgarī by the Venkateśvara Press ; the latter gives its main books as Samhitās, six in number, some of which have been published in Grantha in South India. The philosophical text called the Sūtasamhitā appears as the second Samhitā in the latter Skānda. The Sūtasamhitā itself, in ch. I., proceeds to define its position by giving a list of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas and a description of the Purāṇa Skānda among these ; the six books of the Skānda are said to comprise in all fifty khaṇḍas, out of which the second, Sūtasamhitā, comprises four khaṇḍas, Śivamāhātmya, Jñānayoga, Mukti and Yajñavaibhava, in altogether six thousand granthas. The Sūtasamhitā has an independent appearance and has also been independently commented upon. Mādhavamantrin has commented upon the whole Samhitā, while one Venkateśvara Śāstrin has commented on the Brahmagītā of the Yajñavaibhavakhaṇḍa. Two editions of the Sūtasamhitā with Mādhavamantrin's commentary have appeared, Madras, 1916 and Ānandāśrama 25, Poona. Venkateśvara Śāstrin's commentary on the Brahmagītā is represented by a Ms in the Madras Government, Library, R. 4065. Several Mss are also preserved of an epitome of the Sūtasamhitā, S. S. Sāra, by a pupil of Paramaśivendra. <sup>1</sup> Madras R. 1784(e) ; Mysore I. p. 174, No. 338 ; Tanjore New Catalogue 10210 ; Adyar I. p. 157. Tanjore Nos. 10200-9 form Māhātmyas on several Śaiva kṣetras assigned by their colophons to the Sūtasamhitā and these are accretions, not forming part of the S. S. text. These accretions are explainable by the fact that Śaiva-bhakti forms part of the

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<sup>1</sup> Paramaśivendra is the author of the Vedāntanāmasahasramāhikā and the preceptor of the well-known Sadāśivendra Brahman ( Brahmasūtravṛtti, Yogasūtravṛtti etc ).

thought of the S. S. and the text mentions a number of South Indian shrines in that connection, and contains the Māhātmyas of a few of them.

*Probable Date*

The lower limit of the date of the S. S. is easily determined by the date of Mādhavamantrin of Vijayanagara, son of Cāvunḍa and administrator of the Aparānta under Mārāpa, the younger brother of the king. There are inscriptions of this Mādhavamantrin dated A. D. 1368 and 1384.<sup>1</sup>

Is it possible to push up this lower limit further? The history of the shrines of Śiva in South India mentioned in the S. S. helps us to take this lower limit further up. An important south Indian temple mentioned in the S. S. is the one at Tiruvārūr, one of the chief Cola Cities of old, in the Tanjore Dt. It is now and for a long time well-known as Kamalālaya and the Śiva-deity famous at this place is Tyāgarāja, a form of Dancing Śiva based on the esoteric symbolism of the Ātmamantra known as Hamsavidyā or Ajapāmantra. Now, the Sūtasamhitā mentions Tiruvārūr as the great Śiva shrine of God Valmikeśvara and as Valmīkakṣetra; and while expounding in IV. 7 the Hamsavidyā, the S. S. knows not of the embodiment of Hamsavidyā, God Tyāgarāja.<sup>2</sup> A consideration of this circumstance leads to the surmise that the S. S. was compiled at a time when the deity Valmikeśvara at Tiruvārūr had not gone down in importance and the deity Tyāgarāja had not come to loom large. The decline of Valmikeśvara and the rise of Tyāgarāja at Valmīkakṣetra or Tiruvārūr must have begun in the time of Rājarāja Cola the great (A. D. 985-1014) and become complete during the later Cola times when Śaiva-sectarianism swayed the kings and the adjacent Viṣṇu-shrines in temples dedicated to both Śiva and Viṣṇu came to be disturbed. It is well-known to those familiar with Tiruvārūr that Tyāgarāja's present sanctum by the side of Valmikeśvara's is believed to have originally been a Viṣṇu-sanctum. There is inscriptional

<sup>1</sup> See my article on Kucaragrāma dānapatra, JORM. Vol. XII, pp. 295--299.

<sup>2</sup> There is only one place where it is just possible that Tiruvārūr is referred to as Kamalālaya; see II, 11, 51—आधारः कमलालयः। Tiruvārūr is known as Mūlādhāra kṣetra.



evidence to show that the Cola king Kulottuṅga II (1133-1150 A. D.) disturbed the Govindarāja shrine adjacent to Naṭarāja's at Cidambaram. A similar disturbance under royal auspices must have taken place earlier at Tiruvārūr also where a Viṣṇu-sanctum was closed and a new Śiva-sanctum (of Tyāgarāja) introduced at the same place. This can be conjectured from a tradition recorded in Vaiṣṇavite books that Lord Śiva at Tiruvārūr pronounced a curse on the Cola kings as a result of which the direct line of the Colas became extinct. It is perhaps after this extinction of the direct line that Kulottuṅga I became the Cola successor (1070 A. D.). It is just possible that the S. S. which does not know of the neo-Valmīkakṣetra (Tiruvārūr of Tyāgarāja), was produced prior to C. 1100. If we take the earlier limit of the prominence of Tyāgarāja, that is, the time of Rājarāja the great, who reproduced Tyāgarāja of Tiruvārūr in the Big Temple at Tanjore, we may suppose that the S. S. was composed even prior to C. 1000 A. D.

Among the Śiva-shrines mentioned in the S. S., Cidambaram occupies a vital place. Now, in all the places where Cidambaram is spoken of, it is found as Vyāghrapura or Puṇḍarikapura (Puliyūr in Tamil) and *Dabhra sabhā* (Śīṟṟambalam-the small hall). These are older names. *Dabhra sabhā* subsequently fashionably changed into *Abhra sabhā* (the Ether-Hall) and the Tamil Śīṟṟambalam fashionably changed into Cidambaram (the small hall became the Hall of Consciousness). Further, after a certain time, the place became renowned as the Golden Hall, *Kanaka sabhā*. This last name could have come only sometime after the Cola king Parāntaka I covered the temple with gold. The S. S. does not know at all of the place as *Kanaka sabhā* and could therefore have been compiled only at a time when the covering with gold had either not been done or had been done only recently. The time of Parāntaka I is 907-953 A. D. We can thus bring up the lower limit to the date of the S. S. to C. 1000.

Regarding the upper limit: though it is said in the traditional accounts that Śaṅkara read the S. S. many times, it is more likely that the S. S. dates after Śaṅkara. It can be seen from a further section of this paper that the S. S. has taken two verses from the Bhāgavata which has to be placed between Śaṅkara and Abhinavagupta, i. e. at about 900 A. D. It appears

also that S. S. attempted to do for a Śaiva-Advaita what the Bhāgavata did for Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu-Advaita.

I am therefore inclined to view that the S. S. was produced in the 10th cent. A. D.

*The Thought in S. S.*

The thought in the S. S. may be characterised as Advaita with a definite place for Śaiva bhakti such as is found in the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad. The S. S. is a work which describes itself as 'Veda sammita', is based on the Upaniṣad and discountenances the authority of Āgamas and Tantras; its thought can therefore be described as predominantly 'Aupanīṣada', and not 'Paurāṇika,' 'Āgamika' or 'Tāntrika.'

पवित्रा वेदसंमिता । L 1. 26.

वेदाः प्रमाणं प्रथमं स्वत एव ततः परम् ।

स्मृतयश्च पुराणानि भारतं मुनिपुङ्गवाः ॥

अन्यान्यपि मुनिश्रेष्ठाः शास्त्राणि सुबहूनि च ।

सर्वं वेदाविरोधेन प्रमाणं नान्यवर्त्मना ॥ I, 1. 35-6.

In III. 4. 13-18, the S. S. is more emphatic on the point that the authoritativeness of a Smṛti or Purāṇa is only to the extent it is based on the Vedas. The Pāñcarātra is not independently authoritative; even so the Tantras.

विरोधे वेदवाक्येन प्रामाण्यं नैव सिद्ध्यति ।

... ..

न सिद्ध्यत्येव सुश्रोणि प्रामाण्यं सूक्ष्मदर्शने ।

पाञ्चरात्रादिमार्गाणां ... .. ॥

न हि स्वतन्त्रास्ते तेन भ्रान्तिमूला निरूपणे ।

तथापि योऽंशो मार्गाणां वेदेन न विरुध्यते ॥

सोऽंशः प्रमाणमित्युक्तं केषांचिदधिकारिणाम् ।

अत्यन्तमलिनानां तु भ्रष्टानां वेदमार्गतः ॥

पञ्चरात्रादयो मार्गाः कालेनैवोपकारकाः ।

तान्त्रिकाणामहं देवि न लभ्योऽव्यवधानतः ॥

In IV. 20. 34-41, the S. S. waxes eloquent that there is no authority comparable to Veda. The S. S. is critical not only of the Pāñcarātra but also of the non-Vedic Śaiva sects like Vāmācāra and Pāsupata.

वामपाशुपतादीनामश्रौतानां परिग्रहः ।

पाञ्चरात्राश्रयश्चापि ज्ञानानुत्पत्तिकारणम् ॥ III. 6. 12.

In IV. 12. 15, brands non-Vedic Mārgas as Apabhramśas. See also IV. 21, 41 :

मुक्तिसाधनविज्ञानं वेदादेव न चान्यतः ।

IV. 22. 21 :

अतो वेदस्थितो मर्त्यो नान्यमार्गं समाश्रयेत् ।

IVB. 2. 14 :

वेदमार्गमिमं मुक्त्वा मार्गमन्यं समाश्रितः ।

हस्तस्थं पायसं त्यक्त्वा लिहेत्कूर्परमात्मनः ॥

विना वेदेन जन्तूनां मुक्तिमार्गान्तरेण चेत् ।

तमसापि विनालोकं ते पश्यन्ति घटादिकम् ॥

In IV. 32, the S. S. adopts a clean condemnatory attitude against all Avaidika sampradāyas, stamping onself with the emblems of Viṣṇu, wearing several other forehead-marks, Pāñcarātra, Kāpāla, Kālāmukha, Śākta, Bauddha, Bārhaspata, Pāsupata, Śāmbhava and other Pāṣaṇḍa mārgas ( śls. 33-41 ).

But the S. S. does not go the wholehog in its denunciation of the non-Vedic paths. In one of the passages pointed out above, it accepts that there are Vaidika elements in Pāñcarātra etc. and that so far as those elements go, they are authoritative ; and that those Adhikārinś who take to those paths take time to attain salvation.

तथापि योऽशो मार्गाणां वेदेन न विरुध्यते ।

सोऽशः प्रमाणमित्युक्तं केषांचिदधिकारिणाम् ॥

पाश्चरात्रादयो मार्गाः कालेनैवोपकारकाः ।

III. 4. 17-18.

Only, the S. S. insists that the only authentic source of valid and efficacious spiritual wisdom is the Upaniṣads and that a pursuit of the Upaniṣadic Jñānamārga alone will immediately lead to liberation. As a matter of fact, the entire Brahmagītā forming part of the last khaṇḍa is a mere recast in Anuṣṭubh verses of the leading Upaniṣads.

The S. S. is emphatic in the view that Jñāna alone leads to Mukti or Kaivalya, and there is no direct liberation through Karman. The performance of scripture-enjoined Karman is of value as a means to mental purification, citta-śuddhi. Any other means except Ātmajñāna produces only the lower knowledge and not Jñāna proper.

II. 20. 30 :

तस्माद्विज्ञानतो मुक्तिर्नान्यथा कर्मकोटिभिः ।

III. 8 41 :

—वेदोक्तं कर्म कृत्वा विशुद्धधीः ।

III. 8. 44 :

ज्ञानादन्यत्सुराः सर्वं विज्ञानस्यैव साधनम् ।

IV. 23. 9 :

नित्यकर्मायुष्मानात्पापनाशो भवत्यतः ।

चित्तशुद्धिर्भवेज्जन्तोः ... .. ॥

S. S. III. 3. emphatically says that real Mukti of the form of Brahman-realisation can be had only through Jñāna, but for lower forms of partial Mukti, Sāyujya, Sālokya, Sārūpya or Sāmīpya with some Saṁyoga Brahman, Karman is essential.

आत्मनः परमा मुक्तिर्ज्ञानादेव न कर्मणा । śl. 2.

तस्मान्न कर्मणा मुक्तिः कल्पकोटिशतैरपि । śl. 13.

कर्मणेवापरा मुक्तिः न ज्ञानोदव केवलात् । śl. 14.

The S. S. does not admit the Jñāna-Karma samuccaya vāda. In IV. 38, it states its attitude on Samuccaya clearly. Mukti or liberation is of two kinds, Parā and Aparā; Parā mukti is Sāyujya; Sārūpya, Sāmīpya and Sālokya—these three are Aparā muktis. Of these two types of liberation, Sāyujya or Parā mukti can be had only by Jñāna, never by Karman or even by Samuccaya; Jñāna and Karman are by nature opposed to each other and there can be no Samuccaya of the two, not to speak of Mukti through their Samuccaya. But the three kinds of Aparā mukti called Sārūpya, Sāmīpya and Sālokya are to be had only through Karman; here again Samuccaya is impossible.<sup>1</sup>

तस्मादुक्तप्रकारेण मुक्तिस्सायुज्यरूपिणी ।

ज्ञानलभ्या क्रियामात्राच्च लभ्या न समुच्चयात् ॥

ज्ञानं नामाखिलं चेदं सद्रूपेणावभासनम् ।

क्रिया तु कारकापेक्षा न ज्ञानालम्बिनी सदा ॥

अतः क्रियाया ज्ञानेन विरोधादेव सर्वदा ।

समुच्चयो न युज्येत कुतस्तेन परा गतिः ॥

<sup>1</sup> The commentator Mādhavamantrin brings under karman the adoration of forms of Saṁyoga Brahman in Aparā mukti :

हिरण्यगर्भादिसृष्टिब्रह्मोपासनारूपं च कर्मैव सारूप्याद्यपरमुक्तेः साधनमित्यर्थः ।

सारूप्याख्या तु या मुक्तिः सामीप्याख्या च याऽपरा ।  
सालोक्याख्या च या तासां केवलं कर्मसाधनम् ॥

IV. 38. 98-101.

In IV. 39. the S. S. more elaborately refutes all the lines of thought which attempt to minimise the importance or to qualify the independence of Jñāna in different ways. The view that Jñānakāṇḍa is a Śeṣa of Karmakāṇḍa is first refuted ( IV. 39. 71-77 ); then Jñāna-Karma samuccaya is refuted.

अप्रकाशात्मकं कर्म स्वप्रकाशं तु वेदनम् ।

तथा सति कथं विप्रा ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयः ॥ śl. 79.

Karman is only useful as productive of citta-suddhi; therefore Karman may be an ancillary, but a Sama-samuccaya with it is out of question.

तयोस्समसमुच्चयः । सुतरामेव नास्त्येव । śls. 89-90.

The S. S. accepts Jīvanmukti. See II. 13. 22, III. 2. 54, III. 7. 32, III. 7. 76.

Devotion to Śiva and His grace are both said to be necessary for obtaining Jñāna. The S. S. assigns to Bhakti the place of an important means not only in respect of Jñāna but of Karman also.

मत्प्रसादेन वेदोक्तं कर्म कृत्वा विशुद्धधीः । III. 8. 41.

चित्तशुद्धिर्भवेज्जन्तो रुद्रस्यैव प्रसादतः । IV. 23. 9.

प्रसादो मुक्तिदः साक्षाच्छिवात्सत्यादिलक्षणात् ।

IV. 25-45.

भक्तिरेव परवेदनप्रदा

भक्तिरेव परमुक्तिकारिणी । IV. 26-38.

The Sūta gītā at the end of the S. S. lays great emphasis on Śiva's grace. See especially ch. 5 here.

सत्यं सत्यं पुनः सत्यमृद्धृत्य भुजमुच्यते ।

प्रसादादेव सर्वेषां सर्वसिद्धिर्महेक्षितुः ॥ śl. 56.

On this question of Bhakti, the S. S. appears sectarian in some of its passages. In III. 5. 45-6, it makes Viṣṇu a student and devotee of Śiva. In IV. 2. 53, it considers the contemplation of Viṣṇu and other deities as low : विष्णवादीनां तु देवानां ध्यानं चाधममिष्यते । In the same context, it considers those who maintain the superiority of Viṣṇu as doing so as a consequence of a sinful past, and so on. See śls. 59-62. In śl. 62, even the equality of Viṣṇu and Brahmā with Śiva is objected to. IV. 3. 11-12 condemn to hell

worshippers of all gods other than Śiva. But such is not the normal tone of the S. S. as a whole; the passages speaking derogatorily of other gods, faiths or religious habits like stamping with Cakra<sup>1</sup> etc. are few and may be open to be suspected about their genuineness. For, the normal attitude of the S. S. is to give a place to every line of approach and to note its usefulness. In III. 6. 4, Śiva clearly states that hatred of Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu-devotees is an obstacle to the rise of Jñāna. In IV. 27. 7-9, the S. S. arranges Rudra, Viṣṇu and Brahman as being on the same par, and posits Īśvara-Śiva above this trinity, and over and above that Īśvara-Śiva it holds the one Bliss-Consciousness. In IV. 3. 21-25, the S. S. admits that in so far as they have faith and belief in some Superior Divine Being, even the Bauddha and Ārhata matas could be held as being meritorious.<sup>2</sup> As against absolute spiritual and religious bankruptcy, it is better to have a faith of one's own, be it something born and bred in one's own imagination (IV. 20. 13-14); better than that is a faith based on solid and valid tradition (*ibid.* 15). The Samhitā believes in the Sopāna theory of the other faiths being steps leading to Īśvara bhakti and Advaita Jñāna. In IV. 20. 16-27, it proposes the following order of merit: Buddhism, Jainism, Prājāpatyāgama, Vaiṣṇavāgama, Śaivāgama, (of Śaivāgamas, those that are Ūrdhvasroto dharmas are better than those that are Adhas sroto dharmas),<sup>3</sup> Smārta dharma, Śrauta dharma; of the Vedic Dharmas, Nivṛtti is better than Pravṛtti; worship of Śiva is better than mere Śānti etc.; contemplation of oneself as Śiva and Advaita Jñāna is the greatest of all. In IV. 22. 9-12, the scheme of Adhikāri-bheda, Sopāna krama and the truth that all paths finally lead only to the one goal are set forth. The same idea of Sopāna-krama is again emphasised in IVB. 2. 12. See also IV. 46. 53-61.

<sup>1</sup> The S. S. condemns Saiva stamps as much as Vaiṣṇava stamps. See IV. 18. 52. S. S. IV. 16. 30-33 condemn severely stamps of all description.

<sup>2</sup> In IV. 22. 2-6, the S. S. holds that it is Śiva who promulgated the Lokāyata, Bauddha and Ārhata faiths, even as the Vedas, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava Āgamas and the Āstika Darśanas.

<sup>3</sup> Kāmika and other Āgamas are classed Ūrdhva sroto dharmas (śl. 22); the commentary points out that Kāpālika etc. are Adhas sroto dharmas.

*The Shrines mentioned in the S. S.*

It is pretty clear that the S. S. is a South Indian production. Except in a few cases where mention is made of a few (only the most renowned) North Indian shrines, the S. S. speaks only of the South Indian Śiva shrines when it speaks of the worship of Śiva. Normally, the belt of its shrines runs from Kālahasti in Cittoor to Tiruvārūr in Tanjore Dt. and Cidambaram in the middle occupies a vital place. Now and then, this belt extends in the south to Vedāraṇyam on the seacoast in Tanjore Dt., and even touches Madurā and Rāmeśvaram.

In III. 8. 49-51, Kālahasti, Vṛddhācalam near Cidambaram, Puṇḍarikapura (Cidambaram), Valmīkapura (Tiruvārūr), Vedāraṇya and Kāśī are mentioned, and of these, Cidambaram is held to be dearest to Śiva. The whole of ch. 9 of III is devoted to the dance of Śiva at Cidambaram. The S. S. knows the shrine of Śrī Mūlanātha at Cidambaram (III. 9. 12) and also mentions the sacred tank of Śivagaṅgā in the same temple (III. 9. 54). Cidambaram is again glorified in IV. 24. The following holy places are found in IV. 29. 80ff: Mt. Kailāsa, Dakṣiṇa Kailāsa, Kāśī, Somanātha, Kedāra, Śrīparvata, Vṛddhācala, Goparvata, Haratīrtha, Ādhigrāma (Tiruvorriyūr near Madras) Śvetāraṇya, Dantisthāna, Trikoṭiḥa, Gopuṭatīrtha, Madhyārjuna, Maṅgalavamśa, Kumbhakoṇa, Dakṣiṇāvarta, Japyeśvara, Valmīka (Tiruvārūr), Jambukeśvara, Vedāraṇya, Madura, (Hālāsyā) and Rāmeśvara. Here is a rare case where a place near Trichy, Madura and Rāmeśvara are touched. Here again, in śl. 89, Cidambaram is held to be the greatest abode of Śiva. Some of these same shrines from Kailāsa to Rāmeśvara, but chiefly those in Tanjore Dt., are again spoken of in IV. 37. 12-17. IV. 43 contains a more elaborate survey of Śiva-shrines; here again, it can be seen that after crossing Cidambaram, the Saṁhitā shows its great familiarity with the Tanjore shrines; here also Cidambaram comes for special notice. We do not know if the Kamalālaya mentioned in this ch. (śl. 67) refers to Valmīkakṣetra of which it is now the better known name; probably this Kamalālaya is a North Indian shrine. IV. 46 has another occasion to describe these shrines again, where it mentions at Valmīka, a holy bath called Kṣīrakuṇḍa (śl. 46); the S. S. knows also the Devatīrtha at Valmīka: these form now

part of the Kamalālaya tank. Govatūtīrtha, Agnīśvara, Brahmapura (Shiyāli on the S. I. Ry.) and Āmratīrtha are the new Tanjore shrines added in this chapter. Śl. 61 here places Cidambaram above Kāśī.

*Summary of the contents of the S. S.*

I Śivamāhātmya khaṇḍa comprises 13 chs. 1. Granthāvatāra; 2. Pāsupatavratā explained by Śiva to the Devas; 3. Śiva the Supreme Deity to be worshipped; 4. Śiva-Pūjā,—how it ought to be done and its merits; 5. Worship of Parā śakti; 6. Adoration of the Śiva Bhaktas.

7. Jñāna alone the means to Mukti; this jñāna is produced by Śiva Bhakti, which in turn is produced by visits to Śiva Kṣetras.

8. 'Time;' it is essentially unreal and is superimposed through Māyā on Brahman or Śiva; pralaya described; 9. The lifting of Earth by Viṣṇu; 10. Sāmānya Sṛṣṭi, by Brahmā, of human beings, animals etc. 11. Viśeṣa Sṛṣṭi, creation of Hiraṇyagarbha etc. 12. Jātinirṇaya according to Puruṣa sūkta; subcastes according to the Smṛtis.

13. Tīrtha māhātmya.

II. Jñānayoga khaṇḍa comprises 20 chs. 1. List of teachers of Jñānayoga: Śiva-Devi-Skanda-Vasiṣṭha-Śakti-Parāśara-Vyāsa.

2. Evolution of the cosmos from the one.

3. Brahmācaryāśrama; 4. Gṛhasthāśrama; 5. Vānaprasthāśrama; 6. Saṁnyāsāśrama.

7. Prāyaścitta; 8. Dānadharma; 9. The results of evil acts.

10. Dehotpatti-prakāra: how soul gets embodied and how it could liberate itself through Śivabhakti and Jñāna.

Chs. 11-20 form a section dealing with Yoga; of these ch. 11 deals with the Nāḍī Cakras in the body and ch. 12 with Nāḍī śuddhi; chs. 13-20 deal in order with Aṣṭāṅga yoga, Yama, Niyama etc.

III. Mukti khaṇḍa comprises 9 chs. The subject of Mukti is dealt with under 4 heads,—Mukti, means to Mukti (Mukti-upāya), the Deliverer (Mocaka), the Mediator (Mocakaprada).

Ch. 1 The above-given 4 topics under Mukti.

2. Mukti-bhedas or varieties of deliverance. The Parā Mukti or real deliverance is Brahman-realisation and Aparā Mukti or



the inferior or partial release is of four kinds, Sāyujya, Sārūpya, Sālokya and Sāmīpya with reference to a form of Saguṇa Brahman ;

3. Mukti-upāya: Parā Mukti only through Jñāna; but Aparā Mukti through karman.

4. Mocaka: Śiva is the only Deliverer.

5. Mocakaprada is the Ācārya.

The remaining chapters are of a padding nature :

6. Retails things which prevent the arise of Jñāna ;

7. On the merit of serving the teacher ; 8 and 9 on the importance of Cidambaram ; in 8, Śiva speaks to Devas at Vyāghrapura or Cidambaram and in 9 are described Ādrā-festival and Śiva's dance on that day.

IV. Yajña vaibhava khaṇḍa is more than half the book and comprises three parts, the main section dealing with topics of Jñānamārga and Śiva bhakti in 47 chs., the Brahma Gītā in 12 chs. forming a resume of the chief Upaniṣads and a Sūtagītā in 8 chs. Here, as well as in the earlier books, the S. S. shows a lot of repetition,

A. ch. 1. Question about Vedārtha ; 2. Vedārtha twofold,—Para and Aparā; Para is Brahman; Aparā is Karman or Dharma; Karma yajña is inferior to Jñāna yajña.

ch. 3. Karma yajña, its varieties and their usefulness. 4. Vācika karma yajña and Mantropāsana.

5. Praṇava vicāra ; Para praṇava and Aparā praṇava ; Aparā praṇava is the verbal praṇava : Parapraṇava is Brahman. Details of praṇava japa. 6. Gāyatrivivarāṇa. 7. Ātmamantra, i. e. Hamsa mantra ( अहं सः सोऽहं, हंसः ). 8. Ṣaḍakṣari mantra vicāra ( नमः शिवाय ).

9. Dhyāna yajña or Mānasika karma yajña : contemplation of everything as Brahman.

10. Jñāna yajña : Advaita is here established through all the six Pramāṇas. 11. Inferior types of Jñānayajña which are also useful as leading to the great Śivajñāna and Brahmajñāna. 12 and 13. Jñāna yajña continued. Elucidation of Śakti. 14. Five forms of Śiva,—Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa etc. Grace of Śiva essential for attaining Jñāna. 15. Sattā of manifold nature explained by Vivarta vāda.

16. Jñānotpatti kārṇa, several acts of piety and religious practice and the avoidance of several other mistaken practices; sādhana sampad.

17. Vairāgya towards pleasures of this world and Svarga; folly of considering oneself as body or its constituents; 18. Anitya vastu vicāra; 19. Nitya vastu vicāra; Brahman the only Nitya.

20. Śiva dharma is the best; other Dharmas better than spiritual bankruptcy.

21. Jñāna alone is Mukti sādhana; a repetition.

22. Mārga prāmāṇya: other Mārgas useful as steps to Śiva-advaita mārga; all paths lead but to one, but not directly.

Chs. 23-25 are on Śiva's Grace.

26. Śivabhakti.

27. The Parapada or supreme state of Jñānānandādvaya which is beyond the trinity Rudra, Viṣṇu and Brahmā.

28. Liṅga. Everything is Śiva's Liṅga, in the body as well as in the outer world; Jñāna is Śiva's Liṅga, but strictly speaking there is no Liṅga for Śiva; Śiva is himself his own Liṅga.

29. Śiva's Sthānas in the body as well in the outer world; in the body Brahmarandhra etc; in the outer world, the Śiva shrines, chiefly Cidambaram.

30. The putting on of holy ash according to the Jābālopaniṣad.

31. Jivabrahma-aikya; acts which would please Śiva; 32. Circumstances which would prevent the rise of Bhakti.

33. Names of Śiva. 34. Conditions which call forth Śiva's grace, through initiation by Guru.

35. Guru sampradāya Paramparā: Śiva-Viṣṇu-Sanat-kumāra-Vyāsa-Sūta.

36. A list of Śiva Kṣetras which are said to give immediate Mokṣa.

37. Worship at Cidambaram and other shrines easy means to Mukti.

38. Mukti sādhana; Jñāna alone the means to Mukti; lower Muktis through Karman.

39. Samanvaya of Vedic texts which speak of Dvaita and Advaita; Dvaita-virodha explained; Jñāna-kāṇḍa not Śeṣa to Karmakāṇḍa.

40. Acts productive of Śivajñāna. 41. Sins. 42. Prāyaścitta: Jñāna the greatest Prāyaścitta; no act can bind the Jñānin. Bhakti as Prāyaścitta; Mantrajapa, Homa, Tirthasnāna etc. the other Prāyaścittas. 43. Going to Śiva Ksetras as means to destroy sins.

44. Dravyasuddhi; Ātman is innately pure; Anātman to be purified by spiritual process; purification of other polluted objects.

45. Āhāra-suddhi in a higher as well as a lower sense; abstaining from prohibited food; in a higher sense, the whole universe is food for Ātman.

46. Portents of Death and pilgrimage to Śiva Kṣetras to ward off their evil effect. 47. Other sins.

Concluding statement of Advaita Jñāna.

B. Brahmagītā in 12 chs; a resumé of the leading Upaniṣads.

C. Sūtagītā in 8 chs. The Sūta gītā forms more or less a reiteration of the topics already dealt with.

#### *A Few Noteworthy Points*

S. S. I. 7. 20-21 say that Dvijastṛis have a right to study and practice Śrauta jñāna, but refer to the view of others who hold that women in general sail in the same boat as Śūdras.

I. 7. 22 refers to religious literature in Vernacular expounding popularly the contents of the Vedas. The word Śivajñāna, common in Tamil Śaivite literature, occurs in the S. S. frequently.

II. 14. 13-14, the Sidhānta twice referred to, as fit to be studied by women and Śūdras, is evidently the Śaiva Siddhānta in Tamil.

I. 8. 46-47 say that 10 Purāṇas glorify Śiva, 4 Viṣṇu, 2 Brahman, 1 Agni and 1 Sūrya.

III. 8. 12 and IV. 2. 38 hold that the Śiva pañcākṣarīmantra is derived from the middle of the Śatarudriya—नमः शिवाय च शिवनराय च ।

#### *The S. S. and Vedic Texts and Passages*

It was pointed out previously that the S. S. attaches utmost importance to the Vedas and considers them as foremost autho-

rity. It was also pointed out that the whole of its Brahmagītā is but a resumé of some of the chief Upaniṣads. It can be seen that the S. S. is saturated with the spirit of the Vedas all through and in several places, it incorporates into its text passages from the Vedas, as can be seen from the following index :

I. 2. 12. Atharvaśiras-hymn on Śiva.

I. 2. 15. Om Āpas-Āpo mantra.

I. 2. 16. Jābāla mantra 'Agniḥ' etc. (7 mantras) for smearing the body with holy ash, according to the Atharva śiras ( śl. 19 ). This Ātharvapa mantra for Bhasma dhāraṇa is again referred to II. 14. 15, IV. 30. 18.

I. 4. 7. 'Āpohisthāḥ' mantra.

8. Puruṣasūkta.

I. 9. 4-6. Puruṣasūkta echoed.

I. 12. Puruṣasūkta for explaining Jātis.

II. 19. 12. 13, 17-20. Puruṣasūkta echoed again.

III. 1. 22. Āruṇyupaniṣad.

„ „ 23. Śvetāśvatara.

„ „ 24. Śatarudriya.

„ „ 25. Śivasūkta ; Lingasūkta ; Kaivalyopaniṣad.

„ „ 26. Jābālopaniṣad.

„ „ 27. Maitrāyaṇaśruti.

„ „ 28. Bāṣkala and Śākala Śākhās.

III. 3. 58. Śatarudriya recast into an Anuṣṭubh Stotra.

III. 9. 57-71 Śatarudriya.

IV. 2. 36. Merit of reciting the Śatarudriya.

IV. 16. 3-7. Taittirīya Śāntipāṭha.

IV. 30. 18. Jābālopaniṣad.

„ „ 21. Traiyambaka Mantra.

„ „ 25. Śvetāśvatara.

„ „ 27. Atharvaśiras.

„ „ 30. Kaivalyopaniṣad.

IV. 42. 67. Asya vāmiya sūkta.

„ „ 68. Puruṣa sūkta ; Haviṣ pāntīya sūkta ; several other sūktas as expiations for several sins.

„ „ 70. 'यः कुन्दसामृषथः' etc.

„ „ 71. Rudrajapa.

„ „ 72. Drupadā Gāyatrī (द्रुपदादिषु समुच्चानः) in the Vāja. śākhā

„ „ 73. Two Varuṇa Rks. ( अव ते हेलो and यत्किंचिद् वरुण ).

„ „ 74. तत्समन्दी धावति' etc.

IV. 42 75. 'इन्द्रं मित्रम्' etc.

*The Literature and Schools of thought mentioned in the S. S.*

I. 4. 4. Āgamas. I. 5. 4. Tantra.

II. 14. 13-14. Siddhānta i. e., Śaiva Siddhānta in Tamil.

II. 14. 17. Kalpasūtra, Veda, Dharma śāstra, Purāṇa and Itihāsa.

III. 4. 14. Smṛtis, Purāṇas, Bhārata.

„ „ 15. Pāñca rātra.

„ „ 18. Tantras.

III. 6. 9. Veda, Vedānta.

„ „ 10. Vedāṅgas, Purāṇas, Bhārata.

„ „ 11. Vāmamārgas, Pāśupata and Pāñcarātra.

„ 9. 28. Āśvalāyana sūtra.

IV. 2. 80. Kaṇāda and Kapila.

IV. 3. 21. Bauddha, Ārhatas.

IV. 3. 22. 24. 29. Tantras.

IV. 6. 13-16, 18, Purāṇas, Chandas, Dharmaśāstra, Nyāya, Sāṅkhya *dvaya*, Śikṣā and other Āngas, Mīmāṃsā, Ātharvaṇa śruti, Vedānta.

IV. 8. 22. Vedas, Purāṇas, Bhārata.

„ „ 23. Śāstras, Tarka, Śaivāgamas.

„ „ 24. Vaiṣṇavāgamas and other Āgamas.

„ „ 10. 13. The six Pramāṇas, -Anupalabdhi, Pratyakṣa, Anumāna, Upamāna, Arthāpatti, Śabda.

IV. 12. 15. Tantras.

IV. 13. 38-39. Śaiva, Bhāgavata, Digambara, Bauddha.

IV. 20. 16-20. Buddhāgama, Ārhatāgama, Prājāpatyāgama, Viṣṇvāgama, Kāmika and other Śaivāgamas.

IV. 22. 2-6. Veda, Dharmaśāstra, Bhārata, Vedāṅgas, Upavedas, Kāmikādyāgamas, Kāpāla Lākula, Pāśupata, Soma, Bhairavādyāgama, Viṣṇu, Brahma and Buddhārhatas Āgamas, Lokāyata, Tarkaśāstra, Mīmāṃsā, Sāṅkhya-yoga and other Śāstras.

IV. 32. 39. Pāñcarātra, Kāpāla, Kālāmukha, Śākta.

IV. 40. Bauddha, Bārhaspata, Pāśupata, Śāmbhava.

#### *Influence of other Texts*

It is clear that the author of the S. S. was a student of the Bhāgavata and was enthused to do in the S. S. for Śiva-Bhakti

and Advaita what the Bhāgavata did for Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti and Advaita.

S. S. II. 20. 41 :

निरपेक्षं मुनिं शान्तं निर्वैरं समदर्शिनम् ।  
अनुव्रजाम्यहं नित्यं पूजयेत्यङ्घ्रिरेणुभिः ॥

is Bhāgavata XI. 14. 16.

S. S. IV. 2. 40 :

वृक्षस्य मूलसेकेन शाखाः पुष्यन्ति वै यथा ।  
शिवे रुद्रजपात्प्रीते प्रीता एवान्यदेवताः ॥

S. S. IV. 27. 24 :

वृक्षस्य मूलसेकेन शाखाः पुष्यन्ति वै यथा ।  
शिवध्यानन देवाश्च तथा तृप्ता भवन्ति हि ॥

which is after Bhāgavata III. 5. 49 :

यथा हि स्कन्धशाखानां तरोर्मूलावसेचनम् ।  
एवमारोधनं त्रिष्णोः सर्वेषामात्मनश्च हि ॥

Even as the Bhāgavata, the S. S. also has extensively been inspired by the Bhagavadgītā. Even as in the Bhāgavata, the plan of the work and its thought have been inspired by the Gītā in the S. S. also. Though the Gītā is not found permeating in spirit and letter the S. S. to such a great extent as the Bhāgavata<sup>1</sup> the following contexts and passages in the S. S. show clearly the influence of the Gītā on the author of the S. S. :

1. I have already drawn attention to the sections of the S. S. named after the Gītā, the Brahma gītā and the Sūta gītā, forming part of the fourth book of the S. S.<sup>2</sup>

2. Attention has also been drawn to some Gītā parallels in II. 20.<sup>3</sup> of the S. S.

There are number of other places where the S. S. embodies the ideas and expressions of the Gītā :

3. S. S. II. 6. 22.

नात्यश्नतस्तु योगोऽस्ति न चैकान्तमनश्नतः ।

is Gītā VI. 16 a-b.

<sup>1</sup> See my article in Sanskrit on the Bhagavadgītā and the Bhāgavata in JORM. IX. pp. 156-169; 238-254; XIII. pp. 71-72.

<sup>2</sup> See my article on Greater Gītā, JORM. XII. p. 116, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> H. G. Narahari, Annals B. O. R. I. XXI, pp. 100-105. As many as twelve of the passages cited by him would not form parallels,

11 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

4. S. S. II. 12. 20.

न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेदज्ञानां कर्मसंगिनाम् ।

कर्म कर्तव्यमित्येवं बोधयेत्तान् बुधः सदा ॥

cf. Gītā III. 26.

5. S. S. II. 13. 5. reinterprets the Yamas of Yoga ; Ahimsā is defined here as the realisation of the indestructibility of the Ātman in words which are taken from the Gītā.

आत्मा सर्गगतोऽच्छेद्यः अदाह्य इति या मतिः ।

सा चाहिंसा परा प्रोक्ता ॥

Of. Gītā II. 24.

6. S. S. II. 29.

श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात् ।

स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥

is Gītā III. 35.

7. S. S. III. 5. 25-27.

चण्डालदेहे पश्वादिशरीरं ब्रह्मविग्रहे ।

अन्येषु तारतम्येन स्थितेषु पुरुषोत्तम ।

व्योमवत्सर्वदा व्याप्तः सर्वसंबन्धवर्जितः ॥

एकरूपो महादेवः स्थितः सोऽहं परामृतः ।

इति यां वेद वेदान्तैः ... .. ॥

compare Gītā V. 18.

विद्याविनयसंपन्नं ब्राह्मणे गावि हस्तानि । etc.

8. S. S. III. 5. 40.

यत्र मुक्ता जना नित्यं प्रबुद्धस्तत्र संयमी ।

प्रबुद्धा यत्र ते विद्वान् मुष्मः तत्र केशव ॥

which is a recast of Gītā II. 69.

या निशा सर्वं भूतानाम् etc.

9. S. S. III. 7. 67—Śiva says :

... .. प्रियोऽत्यर्थं मम ज्ञानी सदा हरं ।

बहिःष्ठाः सर्वदा सर्वं ज्ञानी त्वात्मैव मे सदा ॥

Gītā VII. 18.

प्रियो हि ज्ञानिनोऽत्यर्थमहं स च मम प्रियः ।

उदाराः सर्व एवैते ज्ञानी त्वात्मैव मे मतम् ॥

10. S. S. III. 7. 71.

यावानर्थं उदपाने । etc.

is Gītā II. 46.

11. S. S. III. 7. 79.

बहुनां जन्मनामन्ते महापुण्यवतां नृणाम् ।  
प्रसादादेव मे वाक्याज्ज्ञानं सम्यग्विजायते ॥

which echoes Gītā VII. 19.

बहुनां जन्मनामन्ते । etc.

12. The fourth book of the S. S. the Yajña Vaibhava khaṇḍa elaborates the concepts Karma yajña and Jñāna yajña of the Gītā (chs. 3-4). See especially S. S. IV. 2. ślo. 47-50. Karman as Bhagavadārādhana, and abandonment of the sense of oneself as the doer, two of the leading ideas of the Gītā are emphasised in this section. S. S. IV. 3. 6.

शिवाराधनबुद्ध्या ये यजन्ते श्रद्धया सह ।  
अकर्ताऽहमभोक्ताहमसङ्गोऽहमहं शिवः ।  
इति विज्ञाय ... .. ॥  
कर्मयज्ञेषु ये नित्यं यतन्ते ... ।

13. S. S. IV. 22. 11-12.

येन येन प्रकारेण जनैरोभिरुपासितः ।  
तत्तन्मार्गानुगुण्येन साधकत्वं ह्युपैति सः ॥

which compares with Gītā IV. 11 :

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।

as also Gītā, VII. 21.

यो यो यां यां तनुं भक्तः श्रद्धयार्चिनुमिच्छति ।  
तस्य तस्याचलां श्रद्धां तामेव विदधाम्यहम् ॥

14. S. S. IV. 23. 32-33.

... वैश्याः शूद्रा अपि च संकराः ।  
पाषण्डिनो विमुच्यन्ते प्रसादेन शिवस्य तु ॥  
किं पुनर्वैदिका विप्राः स्त्रियः सर्वा मुनीश्वराः ।

cf. Gītā IX. 32-33.

... .. येऽपि स्युः पापयोनयः ।  
स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्राः तेऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम् ॥  
किं पुनर्बाह्याणां पुण्या भक्ताः ... .. ।

15. S. S. IV. 44. 35.

अशुद्ध्या आवृतं सर्वं धूमेनाग्निर्यथाऽऽवृतः ।

cf. Gītā XVIII. 48 :

सर्वारम्भा हि दोषेण धूमेनाग्निरिवावृताः ।



A TOPICAL ANALYSIS OF THE BHOJANA-  
KUTŪHALA, A WORK ON DIETETICS,  
COMPOSED BY RAGHUNĀTHA,  
BETWEEN A. D. 1675 AND 1700

BY  
P. K. GODE, M.A.

I have proved in a special paper<sup>1</sup> that Raghunātha the author of a work on dietetics called the Bhojana-Kutūhala was a protege of the Queen Dipābāi, wife of Ekoji Bhosala of Tanjore, the step-brother of Shivaji the Great. Raghunātha composed some Marathi works at the instance of Queen Dipābāi. In one of his Marathi works called the *Narakavarṇana* he gives us a list of his Sanskrit works in which we find two works viz. (1) धर्मसूतमहोदाधि and (2) भोजनकुतूहल. The *Dharmāmṛtamahodadhi* was composed in A. D. 1701. The *Narakavarṇana* was composed between 1701 and 1712 A. D. The *Bhojanakutūhala* was composed before A. D. 1700. As the author of this work was a Mahārāṣṭra Brahman he not only refers to the Deccani dietetics but also records and describes the dietetics of other Indian provinces also at times. The B. O. R. Institute has a Ms<sup>2</sup> of the 1st *Pariccheda* of this work. With a view to facilitate a close study of this work it is necessary to acquaint interested scholars with its topics. I have, therefore, thought it fit to record below the topics of the treatise as found in the Ms. itself. This Ms is No. 594 of 1899-1915 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. It is dated Śaka 1725 = A. D. 1803.

The numbers against each topic in the following list indicate the numbers of the folios of the Ms.

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<sup>1</sup> Vide my paper on "Raghunātha etc." published in the *Jour. of the Bombay University* 1941.

<sup>2</sup> As regards other Mss of this work see Aufrecht, CC I, 418; II, 95: III, 90. There is also a Ms of the work in the library of the Rajawade Samshodhan Mandir, Dhulia.

भोजनविधिः, 1  
 धान्यप्रकरणं, 1  
 शालिसामान्यगुणाः, 2  
 शालिविशेषगुणाः, 2 ( महाराष्ट्रेषु रायभोगः )  
 निःशुको मुंडशालयः, 3  
 स्थूलशालिः, 3  
 गंधशालिः, 3  
 सूक्ष्मशाली, 3  
 तिरिपशाली, 3  
 षष्टिका मालवे प्रसिद्धः, 3  
 गौरशाली हारिद्र इति प्रसिद्धः, 3  
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 कलायः, 6  
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# THE CONTEMPORANEITY OF SAMUDRAGUPTA AND AUGUSTUS CAESAR OF ROME

BY

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJEE,

' While Alexander was stopped in his advance at the Hyphasis in 326 B. C., he was informed that the King of the Gangaridae and Prasii nations on the banks of the Ganges was named, as nearly as the Greeks could catch the unfamiliar sounds, Xandrames or Agrammes. The reigning king was alleged to be extremely unpopular owing to his wickedness and base origin.....'. Xandrames (of Diodorus) is evidently *Candramas*—the moon, as already suggested by Max Müller, i. e., *Candragupta* the Maurya, which was distorted by Curtius into Agrammes as suggested by McCrindle and others. The reigning king during Alexander's visit in 326 B. C. was *Candragupta*. From the *Mudrārākṣasa* also we learn that *Candragupta* was of low origin and a scion of the Nanda family. It seems clear that he was born of the last Nanda's Queen *Murā* (probably a Ksatriya daughter of the Moriya clan) but by her barber paramour. Hence the extreme unpopularity of the King (*Candragupta*) for his base origin and his father's (the barber's) wickedness for having exterminated the Nanda Dynasty as attested to by the Greek writers. In fact *Candragupta* was an illegitimate scion of the Nanda family and as he was of low origin, his father being a barber, he preferred being called by his mother's name. (In the Jones' collection of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* at the India office library the Mauryas are called *Nanda-sambhūāḥ*).<sup>1</sup> Hence his dynasty was named Maurya. It is wrong, therefore, for some historians to identify Xandrames or Agrammes as the name of the father of *Sandrakottos* (*Candragupta*) (*Sandrakottos* of Strabo, Justin etc., and *Androkottos* of Plutarch). Curtius says 'His (Agrammes', i. e., *Candra-*

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*.

gupta's, and not the last Nanda's, as taken by some historians) father was in fact a barber.....'. It is equally wrong for some historians to suppose that this father, a barber, was the first Nanda. In fact Sandrakottos, Androkottos, Xandrames and Agrammes refer to one and the same person—Candragupta Maurya, as already suggested by McCrindle. Though as a result of the palace revolution Candragupta became king, the throne was too hot for him and he had to fly from the capital in company with Cāṇakya. The Buddhist and Jaina stories on Candragupta and Cāṇakya learning a lesson from the conversation of a mother and her children depict the situation. The story runs thus: 'At evening they (Candragupta and Cāṇakya) reached a village and going about in quest of food, they came to the hut of a poor woman who had just prepared the supper for her children. One of them greedily put his finger right in the middle of the dish and being burnt began to cry. The mother railed at him for being as big a fool as Cāṇakya was. Hearing himself alluded to in such terms, Cāṇakya entered the house and asked the woman the meaning of what she had just said. The woman replied that the child had burnt his fingers because he would eat from middle of the dish instead of from the outer part which was cool; in a similar way Cāṇakya had been defeated because he had not secured the surrounding country before attacking the stronghold of the enemy.....'.<sup>1</sup> Evidently Candragupta in disguise, at this time saw Alexander and tried to induce him to invade Pāṭaliputra. Alexander got offended and Candragupta had to seek safety by a speedy flight. After Alexander's retirement Candragupta seems to have induced Philippos who seems to me to be Parvata of the *Mudrārāksasa*, to help him. Candragupta had then Philippos murdered in 324 B. C. and ascended the throne of Pāṭaliputra after subduing his enemies.

Now, from Strabo (ii, p. 70) we learn that Megasthenes and Deimachos were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrakottos at Palimbothra, and the other to Amitrochades his son; ('Allitrochades' for 'Amitrochades' is evidently a corrupt reading due to the confusion between 'ΛΛ' (LL) and 'M' as already suggested by scholars). Arrian says 'It appears to me

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<sup>1</sup> *Sthavirāvalīcarita* by Hemacandra.

that Megasthenes did not see much of India, but yet more than the companions of Alexander, for he says, that he often visited Sandrakottos, the greatest King (Mahārāja) of the Indians and Poros still greater than he' (Indika, c. 5 frag. 24).

Now the question is who was this Amitrochades or Poros, son and successor of Sandrakottos or Candragupta the Maurya. It has been assumed by some scholars that Amitrochades was an epithet of Bindusāra, the son of Candragupta the Maurya and stands for Amitraghāta. But in the Buddhist Jaina or Puranic accounts we nowhere get this title for Bindusāra. It seems to me that this name 'AMITPOXATHE' is really 'AMITPOKATHE' due to the confusion between 'K' (kappa) and 'X' (Chi) and stands for Samudragupta (we have 'Androkottos' for 'Sandrakottos', 'Orato' for 'Surat' etc.), and Poros stands for Parā(krama) or (Kṛtānta-) Paraśu, the well known titles of Samudragupta. If this is so then the question is, was the Gupta king Samudragupta then reigning in the 3rd century B. C.? I have already dealt with the problem from various directions and I find that the Gupta Vikramādityas were ruling from the 1st century B. C. If that be so, then how is it that Samudragupta's name appears in the Greek accounts in place of the name of Candragupta Maurya's son, Bindusāra? The explanation is simple and I state the same below.

It is known to us that none of the works of Megasthenes, Deimachos or Dionysios who actually visited India as ambassadors to the Mauryan courts has come down to us except in epitomes or citations from later Greek and Roman authors. Now, most of these later writers did not place much reliance on the statements of Megasthenes and others. As for example Strabo (born about 63 B. C. and died about 23 A. D.) says, 'generally speaking, the men who have generally written on the affairs of India were a set of liars, - Deimachos holds the first place in the list, Megasthenes comes next, while Onesikritos and Nearchos, with others of the same class, manage to stammer out a few words (of truth) —'.

Now Strabo and others must have received their information from merchants, sailors and travellers from India from whom on inquiry regarding the name of the son of Candragupta (the

**Maurya** ), the greatest King of India, Strabo and others were told that his name was Samudragupta Parā(krama) or ( Kṛtānta ) Paraśu. The name of Candragupta, Maurya's son, Bindusāra, was most probably not recorded in the accounts of Megasthenes and others as he was not such a well known emperor as his father. Hence Strabo thought that he was giving a correct information in stating the name of ( **Maurya** ) Candragupta's son as Samudragupta who was really the son of the Gupta Monarch Candragupta. Thus Arrianus, a Graeco-Roman official of the second century A. D. says ' It appears to me that Megasthenes did not see much of India, but yet more than the companions of Alexander, for he says that he visited Sandrakottos, the greatest king of the Indians, and Poros, even greater than, he '. Now this Poros was evidently intended by Strabo and others, for ' Bindusāra ' but as the result of information imperfectly understood, Bindusāra's name was stated as ( Samudragupta ) Parā ( -Krama ) or ( Kṛtānta - ) Paraśu who was really greater than his father, the Gupta Emperor Candragupta I. This is certainly not true of Bindusāra.

Now assuming the correctness of the above identifications it follows that Candragupta I Vikramāditya was the famous Vikramāditya of 58 B. C. If this is so, let us see if other Greek and Roman accounts from the latter part of the 1st century B. C. downwards furnish evidence in corroboration of the same.

Nikolaos called Damaskenos from his being a native of Damascus, was sprung from a family of high distinction. He possessed great abilities, was carefully educated, and distinguished himself by the production of works of merit in various departments of literature. He was the intimate friend of Herod the Great, was the private tutor to the children of Antony and Cleopatra, was much esteemed by the Emperor Augustus Caesar ( 23 B. C.-14 A. D. ) to whom he was personally known. At the request of Herod the Great he wrote a Universal History which extended to no fewer than 144 books.

Now Strabo adds ( Bk. XV. 73 ) on the authority of Nikolaos : ' This writer ( Nikolaos ) says that at Antioch by Daphne he met with the three Indian ambassadors who had been sent to Augustus Caesar. These ambassadors came from a certain king

Poros who brought various types of presents, with a letter in Greek written on parchment. It was imported that Poros was the writer, and that though he was the sovereign of 600 kings, he nevertheless set a high value on being Caesar's friend and was willing to grant him a passage wherever he wished through his dominions, and to assist him in any good enterprise'.

Dion Cassius (born A. D. 155) in his History of Rome (IX, 58) states that numerous Indian embassies came to Augustus at Samos in 21 B. C.

Now these embassies came to Augustus between B. C. 26 and 21=Vikrama Sam. 32-37, when evidently (Samudragupta) Parā(-Krama) or (Kṛtānta-) Paraśu, the Napoleon Bonaparte of India was ruling. In verse 11, chapter XXII of the Jyotir-vidābhāṣa by Kālidāsa it is distinctly stated that Vikramāditya had 800 under kings. It is a pity that accepting Fleet's epoch of the Gupta Era (A. D. 318-19) such remarks as the following are made: 'If the embassy was not a purely commercial speculation on the part of merchants of Broach, it is hard to see how king Poros who had 600 under kings, can be other than Indo-Skythian Kozolo Kadaphes who held Poros' old kingdom as well as much other territory in North West India'. (Campbell Bom. Gaz. Vol. I pt. I p. 536).

From internal evidence in 'The Periplus' C. Muller determined the date of its compilation as after the death of Pliny in A. D. 79, between A. D. 80 and 89. Later Schoff determined it more precisely in A. D. 80.

In section 52 of the Periplus it is written 'The local marts which occur in order along the coast after Barugaza are Akabarou, Souppara, Kalliena, a city which was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the time of the elder Saraganes, but after Sandanes became its master its trade was put under the severest restrictions, for if Greek vessels even by accident, enter its ports, a guard is put on board and they are taken to Barugaza'. Muller already remarked 'But the elder Saraganes probably indicates one of the Great Śātakarṇi or Andhrabhritya dynasty. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar also shows that the elder Saraganes implies also a younger who can be no other than Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi. I have already set forth in my article on

the *Gupta Era* that Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi was a contemporary of Kumāragupta (Sam. 93-136=A. D. 35-78). Campbell (Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, pt. I p. 546) suggests that 'Sandanes of the text may have been a ruler of Guzerat and may be identical with the Kshatrapa Sanghadaman (A. D. 224)'. Ptolemy (A. D. 150) in his *Geography* mentions 'Ariake Sadinou'. This means that the territory Ariake was ruled over by Sandinos. In the opinion of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar it was this form 'Sandino' which was familiar with the Greek merchants and sailors. This Sandanes is evidently Skanda (-Gupta) as already suggested by me in my paper on the Gupta Era. Skandagupta's Girnar inscription is dated Sam. 136=A. D. 78, just the date of the Periplus.

In Sec. 41 of the Periplus it is stated 'To the gulf of Barake succeeds that of Barugaza and the mainland of Ariake, a district which forms the frontier of the kingdom of Mombaros and of all India'. A suggestion was made by Campbell (Bom. Gaz. Vol. I Pt. I p. 544) that Mombaros may possibly be a corruption of Mahākṣatrapa or some similar Greek form of Mahākshatrapa.

It seems to me that Mombaros is the corruption of Kombaros or Kumāra i. e. Kumāragupta, the father of Skandagupta. The word Kumbhakāra—a potter is called in different provinces of India as 'Kumhāra' or 'Kumāra'. It is possible that the 'Greeks heard the name of the reigning monarch of India as 'Kumhāra' or 'Kumāra' (Gupta) and like the 'p' in Keprobotras' the 'b' in Mombaros is superfluous, and through the error of a copyist the 'K' was changed to 'M'. We know that Kumāragupta was ruling till Sam. 136=A. D. 78, and Skandagupta was fighting the Mlecchas and the Hunas during his father's life time and came out victorious in the end as we know from his Bhitari and Girnar rock inscriptions. So that the mention of the limits of Kumāra's dominions and the mention of the restrictions in the port of Broach against foreign ships by Skandagupta immediately after his accession is most significant and is a distinct proof of the true date of the Imperial Guptas. Did Kumāragupta's enemies receive secret help from the Greek vessels? Kumāra's and Skanda's coins with Greek legends were evidently issued after Skanda's victory. I have already stated in my article on the *Gupta Era* that in this defeat of the foreign hordes Skanda-



gupta was assisted by Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi and the Śaka era starting from this date A. D. 78=Sam. 136 is, therefore, also known as the Śalivāhana Śaka era.

From Ptolemy's Geography ( Bk. VII, Chap. 6 and 7 ) we know that two divisions of Ariake belonged to two potentates, Sandinos and Andron Peiraton. Campbell ingeniously suggested, ' Ptolemy's phrase Ariake Andron Peiraton is not correct Greek for pirates. This and the close resemblance of the words suggest that Andron Peiraton may originally have been Andhra Bhṛityon '. Evidently the two divisions of Ariake belonged to Skandagupta and the Andhrabhṛityas.

In the Periplus ( Sec. 48 ) it is stated, ' East from Barugaza is a city called Ozene, formerly the capital where the king resided..... ' On this McCrindle remarked ' from this ( description of Ozene and its trade ) we see that about a century and a half after Vikramāditya era Ujjayinī was still a flourishing city though it had lost something of its former importance and dignity from being no longer the residence of the sovereign '. This traditional Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī has been rightly identified by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar with Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty. Evidently the description of Ujjayinī in the Periplus tends to show that during Kumāra's and Skandagupta's rule Ozene was not the capital of the ( Gupta ) Vikramādityas. Ptolemy's statement of Ozene will also support this. He says ' Ozene-the capital of Tiastanes. ' This word Tiastanes is rendered by some as Chastana. Now the official title Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa indicates that Chastana must have been a subordinate to a paramount power, and it is unlikely that Ptolemy would mention a subordinate Chief's seat as the capital. Captain Wilford in his Essay on Vikramāditya and Śalivāhana ( As Res. Vo. IX. p. 183 ) remarks ' I strongly suspect however that it ( Tiastanes ) is a corruption of Ādityasthāna which may have been misunderstood by travellers who knew very little of the country languages. I suppose that either these travellers or Ptolemy who conversed with many Hindus at Alexandria, asked what were the names of the metropolis of the country, and its king. The answer was Ujjayinī-Rāja-Ādityasthāna, " Ujjayinī is the residence of king Āditya " which was erroneously rendered as " Ozene " is the metropolis of King Tyas-

than or Tiasthan'. Vikramāditya is known throughout India even now-a-days as 'Ujjayini-pura-varādhīśvara'. It was this fact that Ptolemy stated in his geography. Tiastanes may as well stand for Candrasthāna ( Yule renders 'Tiatura' as 'Chandor' ), the capital of Candra ( Gupta Vikramāditya ). It seems that the capital was shifted from Ozene ( Ujjayini ) during the troublous days of Kumāragupta. It is evident that Ptolemy received his information on India from early Greek accounts during the days of the Roman and the Gupta Emperors of the 1st century A. D. when brisk trade was going on between India and the West. The cause of the influence of Roman coins and the presence of Greek legends in the coins of Kumāra and Skandagupta may now be studied with profit.

From the above it will be seen that most of the mighty Gupta monarchs Candragupta I Vikramāditya, Samudragupta Parākrama or Kṛtānta-Paraśu, Kumāragupta and Skandagupta were known to the Greek and Roman writers of the 1st and 2nd century A. D. This points unmistakably that the Guptas flourished from the 1st century B. C. of whom Samudragupta Parākrama or Kṛtānta-paraśu ( c. Sam. 26 to 58=32 B. C. to A. D. I ), a mighty monarch, was contemporary of Augustus Caesar of Rome ( B. C. 23-A. D. 14 ) and as the Greek and Roman writers of the 1st century A. D. and downwards mention Samudragupta Parākrama or Kṛtānta-Paraśu mistakenly in place of the name of Bindusāra the Maurya monarch Candragupt's son there remains now not a shadow of doubt that Candragupta I Vikramāditya began to rule from 58 B. C. and he was the originator of the Vikrama Era.

# THE FORMATION OF KONKANI\*

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## Part III Syntax

§ 302. This section does not aim at giving a detailed study of Syntax within the Konkani group; for this, reference may be made to the individual standard descriptive grammars already mentioned in the Introduction.<sup>1</sup> Further, the general observations of Jules Bloch<sup>2</sup> with regard to Marāṭhī hold good for the Konkani dialects also.

The object of the present section is to review briefly the main current of syntactical characteristics of Konkani and the deviation observed therein in the dialects which we have taken up for study. The main differences will be particularly noticed within the two divergent groups: Brahmin and Christian.

### *Nominal and Verbal Phrases*

§ 303. Ordinarily the Konkani sentence consists of a subject and a verb:

s. gs. *hāvā vattā* 'I go'; x. *tujo bāu uśār āssā* 'your brother is clever'; gx. *pArke nhoy te* 'they are not strangers.'

The verb 'to be' is not indispensable to the sentence: s. gs. *to pisso, tū budvantu* 'he is dull, you are clever'; x. *kurpā gārjaci* 'grace is necessary'; gx. *tuje kāliz barē* 'your heart is good,' etc. For further details see *La langue marathe* §§ 267-8.

### *Accord*

§ 304. Like nouns, adjectives in Konkani are either derived from simple or from extended bases: s. gs. *cāngu ghoḍo, cāngi gāyi, cānga sūṇē* in opposition to *kāḷo ghoḍo, kāḷi gāyi, kāḷē sūṇē*. In those Konkani dialects where the final vowel is pronounced we see this main divergence from standard Marāṭhī in that the gender and number is clearly distinguishable: *cāngu ghoḍo: cānga ghoḍe*. With reference to such of the Konkani dialects

\* Continued from *Annals* Vol. XX, p. 176.

<sup>1</sup> Maffei 196-314; Rangel 193-259; Jose de S Rita e Souza 136-56.

<sup>2</sup> *La langue marathe* §§266-8.

which allow nouns or adjectives to end in consonants, Bloch's observations for Marāṭhi hold good for them also.

§ 305. As seen above, the adjective agrees in number and gender with the substantive which it qualifies. When there are more substantives than one the adjective agrees with the one nearest to it : s. gs. *kāle* ( m. ) *ghoḍe āni gaḍyo* ( f. ) ' black horses and ( black ) carriages.'

§ 306. The adjective agrees in case with the substantive which it qualifies. This we have seen above with reference to the direct case. In the indirect case when the adjective precedes the substantive, the postpositions are used only with the substantive. s. gs. *kālyā ghodṣyāka*, ' *ghodṣyālē* etc. When the substantive is implied but not expressed the postpositions go with the adjective : s. gs. *kālyāk bāndi*, *dhāvṣyāka soḍi* ' yoke the black ( bull ), unyoke the white ( bull ).'

#### Order of Words

§ 307. Ordinarily the subject begins the sentence and the verb or predicate terminates it.

s. gs. *to manusyu ghūrā vattā* ' that person goes home.'

s. *bud āni zāṇvāi tukā rākteli* ' counsel shall keep thee and prudence shall preserve thee.'

gx. *koṇ dukhest nā zāyt* ' who will not become miserable ? '

§ 308. The order enumerated by Bloch ' generally holds good for *Konkaṇi* also : subject-complement-adverb-verb ; the adjectival epithet precedes the noun ; the indirect complement precedes the direct complement ; words denoting circumstances, time or place immediately follow the subject. The conjunctions are placed at the beginning of the sentence. This system is essentially the inherited system from OI-A.

#### Examples :

g. *bhās mhaḷyār utrāci rās aśē hāvē tumkā sāṅgā*. ' I have told you that language is a grouping of words.'

gx. *hyā kāmūco sagḷo sarkārān āmcer viśvās davarlā, ānī āmī sagḷe zāṇvō tākū mān koso divūco to* ' The Government has placed entire confidence in us in this work ; ( knowing this ) how can we all honour ( obey ) him ? '

ngs. *śeṭi, goḍ nā jālyār gaḍāsārke ultar nā* ' well, sir, if you have no molasses to sell, have you no sweet words ? '

s. *Ani tūnnē cākrā-paikī eklyāka āppovnū*, 'hājjo arthu itte' *mhunū vicārlē* 'And having called one of the servants he asked' 'what (is) the meaning of this?'

It will be noticed from these arbitrarily drawn examples from published specimens that though the general order of words is the same as that found in most of the other literary NĪ-A. languages such as Marāṭhī, there is a happy freedom from any hide-bound rule. The remarks of Bloch on Bengali<sup>1</sup> hold good for dialects of Konkani also. For variation of emphasis changes the construction of the sentence by a mere change of order in the words employed: s. *hāvē Bombayi-thāvnu āppūsa āmbē hāḷlyāti* 'I have brought Alfonso mangoes from Bombay,' but *Bombayi-thāvnu hāvē* etc. 'It is from Bombay that...', or *Āmbē hāḷlyāti hāvē Bombayi-thāvnu* 'They are mangoes which I have brought from Bombay' or finally *hāvē hāḷlyāti āppūsa āmbē Bombayithāvnu* 'It is I who have brought Alfonso mangoes from Bombay.' In fact this variation can be played upon to suit any context required by the speaker and the emphasis accordingly shifts from one factor to another.

But there is one particular factor already noticed by the late Rao Saheb Dr. V. P. Chavan about the word order in gx. which is worth reproducing here to indicate the influence of Portuguese on this dialect of Konkani so far as syntax is concerned (p. 18 of his *Konkan and Konkani Language*): The Goa Mail, Bombay, 8th July 1923. *Vortouta tumcho chodd gorgecho anim bari caido diuncheak bori dek tumcheam burgueanc aslanam tim lanam. Avoi Bapui sabar pautim khens cortat aplim burguim aiconant vo bexearmi cortat mun aplea sangneanc.*

This passage translated into pure ngs. or ns. by Dr. Chavan is as follows: *tumgelī cordā lahūn āstānā tākā barē śikṣana divcē ho tumgelyā bhārī garjēcho āni mahatvācho nyam āsā* (āscyāk jāy). *Apḷī cordā āykanūt āni āplyā sāṅgyūcho apmān kartāt mhaṇ āvay būy ūy puṣkaḷ lūrṭī* (iāṅgelyā) *āṅgar vatāt* (khes kartāt).

The first passage clearly shows the influence of the Portuguese construction of sentences in action, giving almost a word for word translation of a Portuguese sentence. It is a clear indication of the manner in which the gx. literature has come into existence under the guidance of Portuguese missionaries who evidently

<sup>1</sup> L' Indo-aryen, p. 307.

introduced this translation method as the best way of building up a new ecclesiastical literature. Further, the compulsory introduction of Portuguese by law in the seventeenth century to the exclusion of the mother-tongue may have naturally hastened this process of changing the sentence construction. This change is not seen, for example, in Father Stephens' first Koṅkaṇī grammar.

As the subject of word-order in NI-A. sentences has already been dealt with by Bloch in his *L'Indo-Aryen*, it will not be necessary to repeat here the general characteristics shared by Koṅkaṇī along with the other NI-A. languages.

§ 309. A brief discussion here is indicated in virtue of § 275 above about the syntactic difference between transitive and intransitive forms of the Imperfect or Past.

When the termination *-la* is added on to a verb with an intransitive meaning the OI-A. system prevails: *vrkṣaḥ patitah* > s. *rūku paḷlo*. Similarly when the original base is transitive the passive meaning is obtained and the OI-A. construction remains unchanged: *mayā kathitam* : s. *hāvē sāṅglē, tānnē mhaḷlē*, etc.

The other construction mentioned by Bloch about the object of action which should normally be in the direct or subjective case, but which has, as in Hindi and particularly in the North-West and Eastern groups of languages, taken postpositions, has become quite normal in Koṅkaṇī: *hāve Rāmāka mārlo* instead of *Rāmu mārlo* : of course examples like *tānnē mūsu mārlo* 'he has killed a fly' are perhaps as common as *mūsāk mārlo*.

A certain confusion is seen in types such as *tū kāma kartū* 'will you work?' : *tūvē kāma kellē* 'have you worked?' leading to *tū kāma kellē*? Here the transition seems to be due to the stress and rapidity of speech habit among the speakers of these dialects, for the question *koṇē* always elicits the indirect form.

With a few verbs, however, the direct form replaces the logical subject which should normally be in the indirect form of the instrumental: *hāva tē visarlo* instead \**hāvē tē visarlē*. For a list of such verbs see *La langue marathe*, p. 252.

#### IV. Conclusion

§ 310. In §§ 7-11 we have seen that the treatment of *r* is normally *a* in Koṅkaṇī. In this early innovation Koṅkaṇī agrees

with the South-West and South dialects of NI-A. as well as MI-A. See Turner, *Position of Romani*, p. 7.

Similarly in the treatment of *rt* of OI-A. Konkani shows a preference to the dental treatment: see § 86-2\* agreeing with the South-West and Central groups.

The third innovation with regard to Sk. *kṣ* shows in Konkani the regular *cch > s* treatment, agreeing again with the South-West group, 139 (β).

Sk. *sm* regularly becomes *mh > m* in Konkani, 140 (β). This is again in conformity with South-West treatment.

Treatment of Sk. *tv > pp*. § 137 (b), agreeing with the Central groups; examples of the dental treatment with respect to *tv* are not much in evidence but with respect to *dv* the dental treatment is regular; but still there are exceptions, showing the labial treatment.

Initial *y-* becomes *j-* in Konkani, § 106, diverging from the North-West and Southern groups but agreeing with the rest.

Intervocalic *-m-* becomes *-ṽ-* or *-v-*, § 113, again differing from the North-West and Southern groups but agreeing with the rest.

The early isoglosses mentioned above are reproduced below from Turner's *Position of Romani*, § 27 with the necessary modifications for Konkani given in the last column.

Sanskrit North-West South-West Central East South Konkani

ṛ	ri	a	i, u	a ?	a	a
rt	ṛ	t	t	ṛ	ṛ	t
kṣ	cch	cch	kkh	kkh	cch?	cch > s
sm	sp, ss	mh ?	mh	mh	mh?	mh > m
tv	tt	tt	pp	pp?	tt?	pp
dv	dd	dd	bb	bb?	dd?	dd
y-	y-	j-	j-	j-	y-	j-
-m-	-m-	-ṽ-	-ṽ-	-ṽ-	-m-	-ṽ, -v-

In all these cases it will be observed that Konkani agrees principally with the South-West and to some extent with the Central group. There can therefore be little doubt that judged by its early innovations, Konkani belongs to the same group to which Marāṭhī and Sinhalese (and perhaps Gujarati) belong.

§ 311. In the last section we considered only such innovations as actually occurred in MI-A. and traces of which were actually seen in OI-A. itself. Let us now take up the question of later innovations. The chief innovation in this category is the

change of *s* to *ś* in the presence of front or palatal vowels, § 107. In this new innovation *Konkani* agrees only with *Marāṭhi*.

Compensatory lengthening (see § 26ff.) is an important innovation affecting the group *Gujarti*, *Marāṭhi*, *Hindi*, *Central Pahari*, *Nepali*, *Bihari Bengali* and *Oriya*, in opposition to the *North-Western* group.<sup>1</sup> It will be thus be seen that *Konkani* also belongs to this group, and the preservation of consonant length from *MI-A.* with a long vowel in certain *Konkani* dialects may be secondary and not an original characteristic. Further research is needed on this point.

Initial *v-* (§ 106) remains unchanged in *Konkani*. In the *Central* and *Eastern* groups this has become *b-*, probably at a comparatively late date, but compatible with the period for which the *NI-A.* begin to make their appearance. The preservation of *v-* initial is characteristic of the *West* and the *North-West* where it remains as *w* or a bilabial *v*, with a few notable exceptions.<sup>2</sup> Here again *Konkani* shows its *Western* characteristics.

§ 312. The phonological data indicated above show that so far as the earliest innovations are concerned *Konkani* agrees with the *South-West* in the majority of its characteristics and partially with the *Central* when there is a divergence between these two groups. In its later innovation of *s > ś* in the presence of palatal vowels it agrees definitely with *Marāṭhi*.

§ 313. In its vocabulary *Konkani* today shows a large number of vocables preserved in *Old Marāṭhi* but for which modern *Marāṭhi* has coined other expressions. This topic has been dealt with a number of times by various scholars. Reference may be made in this connection to the short list given by *Dr. Chavan* in his work.<sup>3</sup> He also notices therein a number of *Konkani* vocables which he finds only in *Gujarati* and not in *Marāṭhi*. Now the geographical location of *Konkani* does not justify the inclusion of such of these *Gujarati* vocables as have not come to it through *Marāṭhi*, unless we posit their infiltration in *Konkani* at an earlier period and their preservation subsequently in it, without being replaced by the cognate *Marāṭhi*

<sup>1</sup> *Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan*, § 45

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, § 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Konkan and the Konkani Language* pp. 40-44.



vocables. There are a number of Old Gujarati vocables preserved in Kōṅkaṇī but not in modern Gujarātī, and it would be interesting to investigate in great detail this fascinating subject.

It will generally be noticed in studying NI-A. languages from a historical point of view that many of the earlier vocables noticed at the beginning of the older stage of NI-A. are supplanted in each individual language by other forms which are then exclusively used. In this manner the supplanted vocables soon become obsolete, but the dialects which reach back to these old strata and which survive today show traces of a large number of them. A study of such vocables would be interesting in view of the light they can throw upon the possible affiliation of these dialects to these earlier sources. This subject has been touched here only to indicate the scope for further lines of research in these interesting dialects.

A consideration of the vocabulary shows that in its purely inherited form the dialects of Kōṅkaṇī are nearest to Marāṭhī and Gujarātī.

§ 314. Turning to the question of nominal formation we notice that in the case of enlarged substantives the nominative masculine in Kōṅkaṇī shows the *-o* form in opposition to the *-ā* form. Thus Kōṅkaṇī *ghōḍō* agrees with Sindhi, Gujarātī, Rajasthanī and Nepali as against Marāṭhī, Hindi, Braj, Panjabi and Bengali. In between these groups come Kashmiri and Shina.

In the plural of the same case we have Kōṅkaṇī *-e* form (< \**aya*) agreeing with Marāṭhī in opposition to Gujarātī *-ā* form.

§ 315. Another basis for affiliating Kōṅkaṇī is afforded by morphological considerations.

(a) Kōṅkaṇī *-čō* (*cī, cē*) agrees with Marāṭhī.

(b) Kōṅkaṇī *-kū* agrees with Hindi *-ko*.

(c) Kōṅkaṇī *thā(k)unu* etc. has a parallel in Oriya and Bengali, § 219 above.

(d) Kōṅkaṇī gen. *-gelo* is parallel to the Marāṭhī dative *-lā*.

(e) Kōṅkaṇī past participles in *-la* have cognates in Marāṭhī, Gujarati and Bengali.

(f) The causative suffix in *-aya-* differs from Marāṭhī and all other NI-A. languages where it does not subsist in this form. The *-āvaya-* forms in Kōṅkaṇī have cognates in all NI-A. lan-

guages, but in Konkani itself are formed from verbs ending in vowels ( *khā-vay-tā, pi-vay-tā* ).

It will be clear from ( a ), ( d ) and ( e ) that Konkani agrees with Marāṭhi and differs from it as regards ( b ), ( c ) and ( f ).

§ 315. Taking into account all the main features of Konkani we may now definitely assign it to the South-Western group ( having Marāṭhi and Gujarati as its nearest of kin ) with a tinge of the Central group ( Hindi, especially in the dative postposition -ka ). The differentiations noted in the formation of the direct sing. of masc. nouns in their extended form and the divergent postpositions for the dative clearly mark off Konkani as a separate language from Marāṭhi, preserving in many respects an earlier stage of development. Its position as a separate language ( and not a mere dialect ) is thereby proved, but phonological considerations show that both belong to a common parent Prakrit.

§ 316. Very little is known about the early history of Konkani. The first notice and description of the language is to be found in Father Stephens' grammar. The study of Konkani is chiefly due to the efforts of Christian missionaries and a reference to Dr. Mariano Saldanha's paper on the history of Konkani grammars<sup>1</sup> will make this abundantly clear. For the historian of Konkani J. H. da Cunha Rivas's *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani*, 1857, is still a standard work of reference.

It is commonly averred that before the advent of the Portuguese there was a flourishing Konkani literature in Goa which was destroyed by the Portuguese inquisition which commenced by a ruling of 30th June 1541 and continued for nearly two centuries.<sup>2</sup> But the fact that the Christian missionaries themselves were studying the native tongue and composing grammar shows that the mother tongue continued to be in vogue in spite of persecutions. But of literature as such we have no traces. The efforts of Father Stephens did not give us any Konkani literature, his own *Purāṇa* being in the form of Marāṭhi current in Goa during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries. It would appear from this, as well as from the absence of any

<sup>1</sup> BSOS, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *The origin of Konkani Language*, by Dr. Santana Rodrigues, pp. 11-14.

literature in Koṅkaṇī outside Goa before the seventeenth century that Koṅkaṇī at no time enjoyed the status of being a medium of serious literature or a court language.

This absence of literature perhaps explains the reason why Koṅkaṇī has survived to this day as a homely language of communion between one and a half million people most of whom are bi- or tri-lingual. It is also some times averred that the Portuguese persecutions were so sudden and violent that the Brahmins who fled from Goa had no time either to carry away their family gods or literature with them. Nevertheless the gods have survived and the temples are still in existence, but there is very little trace of pre-Portuguese Koṅkaṇī literature. Unless fresh evidence is forthcoming (and this is hardly to be expected, as even Marāṭhī manuscripts hardly reach back to the sixteenth century and very few Sanskrit manuscripts go beyond the fourteenth) we have to assume that there was no literature worthy of its name in these dialects.

§ 317. As Koṅkaṇī at no subsequent period became either a court language or the language of literature, there was no binding force which could evolve one standard language. At least with the incoming of the Portuguese and the whole-sale conversion of the Hindus many of the high class Brahmin communities emigrated from Goa before they were overtaken by the zealous missionaries. These migrations must have taken place in several waves, for already in the *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* of the seventeenth century we find evidence of Koṅkaṇī Brahmins settling down in Malabar, the southern extreme point of Koṅkaṇī extension. Thus already in the seventeenth century Koṅkaṇī speaking Brahmin communities occupied Cochin, South and North Kanara and the Ratnagiri districts. The migrations must have naturally taken place along the coast-line, and thence extended inwards. The rivers may also have played an important part in these migrations.

§ 318. Viewing the conditions today we may safely presume that Koṅkaṇī was not the language of a single homogeneous community but of a heterogeneous group including Brahmins as well as non-Brahmins. For the dialectical differences we notice are not merely due to this Brahmin-Non-Brahmin classification but is more or less co-extensive with the communities among these

two major groups. Thus the classification of Konkani goes along hand in hand with the social and communal stratification of society, or guild, as instanced by the language of the Sonārs of Goa or the Gāvdis of the two Kanaras. Even within the same community there have been recent differentiations between the dialects spoken in South and North Kanara. Thus we have s. and ns., gs. and ngs. and so forth.

§ 319. The main group of Konkani speakers are naturally the Sarasvat Brahmins on the one hand, and the converted Christian community of Goa and the two Kanaras. The social fabric of the Brahmins was carried over even after the conversions took place, and the highest caste Christians were naturally the Sarasvat Brahmins who were thus forcibly converted.

The entry of the Sarasvats into Goa is still a matter for historical investigation; for they look upon Kashmir as their place of origin and depending upon mythical and semihistorical facts contained in the Sahyādri Khaṇḍa of Skanda Purāṇa trace their perigrinations to Goa via Trihotra. So far as our present enquiry is concerned the history of this migration is not of much importance to us, although it might throw some light on the peculiar vocables which have survived in the dialects of Konkani. Until this history is unravelled we are not in a position to say anything more about the manner in which they adopted the Konkani language.

§ 320. As we have seen in detail in the sections on Phonology and Morphology Konkani is derived from the South-Western Prakrit traces of which are seen for instance in the Girnar version of Aśoka's edicts. Moreover it shares such a large number of Old Marāṭhi and Gujarati vocables which are lost in the modern forms of those languages that geographically we have to place the origin of Konkani between Marāṭhi and Gujarati. As the dative postposition *-ka* is observed even from the earliest specimens now available, we have to place its origin within the sphere of influence of the Central group. The question regarding exact provenance of the language will have to be left for future historians of these dialects.

§ 321. It would thus appear that since its very birth Konkani became the mother tongue of a number of communities. The fact

that about a million and a half people speak it today in opposition to almost seventeen million speakers of Marāṭhī will indicate that Koṅkaṇī must have enjoyed considerable popularity as a language from the earliest times. And although the present division into a large number of dialects might not characterise the initial stages of its development, there must have been seeds of this differentiation from the very beginning. Even Marāṭhī in its old stage shows several such differentiae in the literature produced in different parts. These differentiae became the basis of dialect forms which ultimately diverged to form separate dialects within the same language group, retaining all the principal features of the language differentiating them from the dialects of Marāṭhī, but developing peculiarities of pronunciation, stress, and even vocabulary which marked them off from one another.

The caste system as well as the guild system in the social fabric of Goa and the Kanaras before and during the advent of the Portuguese helped in the formation of several distinct dialects.

§ 322. Except for some recognition given to Sarasvat Brahmins by the court at Nagar, the capital of the Keladi Kings,<sup>1</sup> and this is mostly traditional account, we have no instance of royal patronage either for Koṅkaṇī or the speakers of this language in any medieval account. Moreover the fact that the early settlers had fled from Goa to the Karnatak, Malabar and Southern Maratha country during the Inquisition period urged on them the necessity of mastering the different court languages of these dominions. For at no time could the Koṅkaṇī speakers be called great industrialists or soldiers. Being Brahmins they gloried in the tradition of Sarasvatī and the only avenue for them was in the administrative service of the different dynasties ruling in those parts where they intended to settle down. The need of mastering these neighbouring court languages such as Kannada, Malayalam or Marāṭhī set up bilingual or even trilingual speakers among the devotees of Koṅkaṇī. This polyglottism forced by economic conditions on these speakers early in the sixteenth century has continued even to this day.

<sup>1</sup> S. S. Talmāki, *Saraswat Families*, Part, I, p. 35.

The first effect of such polyglottism resulted in the incursion of a large number of vocables in Konkani drawn in from these sources. Thus the dialects spoken in the two Kanaras drew upon Kannada for fresh vocables; the southernmost dialect of Cochin borrowed a number of vocables from the language of Malabar, while the settlers in the Marhata country drew upon the cognate Marathi to enrich its own vocabulary. But the vitality of the Aryan tongue has resisted the wholesale incorporation of foreign matter, and it is surprising that the number of such words in Konkani are not greater than those which have filtered into the greater NI-A. languages such as Marathi or even Gujarati. Even Sanskrit shows a very great percentage of Dravidian incursions in its phonology and vocabulary, and it is no wonder that a language like Konkani which never became the proper vehicle for literary expression had cause to borrow such vocables from neighbouring court languages which the speakers had perforce to study for their own economic and political upliftment.

While Konkani successfully resisted the influences of its more powerful neighbours in the Indian field and preserved intact its phonology and morphology, it was not so successful in its fight against Portuguese. We have already seen that gx. shows a complete subservience to Portuguese word-order in its sentence construction. This in itself shows what political persecution is capable of doing to a given language which has no literature of its own to fall back upon. Besides this, the number of Portuguese words which now form part of gx. vocabulary is far in excess of such words borrowed by NI-A. as a whole.

The inherent weakness of Konkani caused by the absence of a native literature may thus be seen in its reaction to non-Indian languages such as the Portuguese and English. While it may be admitted as a general rule that the earlier generations knew their mother-tongue well enough, the introduction of English as a medium of education from the High School stage has brought in complications. If one listens to the common speech of the present generation of Konkani speakers one is shocked by its complete Anglicisation; the verbs, adverbs or prepositions have been entirely drawn from English and one would scarcely find genuine Konkani words to the degree which is required to call

the language Konkani. To a slightly less extent we notice the same fact about the more fortunate literary languages like Marāṭhī and Gujarati.

While the NI-A. languages have survived the impact of other languages which were the court languages of different periods, they are not so insular to the influence of the modern court languages of Europe. The main cause of this change is to be sought in the policy introduced in the last century of carrying on higher and even high school education in the foreign medium which has so much upset the natural order of things that in the case of non-literary languages spoken by a completely educated community such as the one formed by Konkani speakers there is great danger of the dialects ultimately disappearing— a fact which would be of grave concern to Indo-Aryan linguists.

§ 323. This process of conversion has been going on in a different manner within the Indian group of languages. A good number of Konkani speakers consciously adopted the court language of the place of settlement as their mother-tongue and brought up the subsequent generations in those languages. Thus we have a Kannada speaking Konkani community in Mysore. More recently we have many Konkani-speaking Sarasvats adopting Marāṭhī, Gujarati or even distant Bengali as their mother tongue.

The opening up of new fields of service in British India and the States gave entry to a large number of Konkani speakers whose only means of livelihood was in the service of the Government; with the gradual industrialisation of the provinces and the establishment of large commercial houses in various centres the avenues of service increased, drawing the small number of these speakers from their original homestead to distant parts. A new set of circumstances has been introduced into the already complicated history of Konkani, and unless a great genius of the rank of Kālidāsa or Rabindranath gives a fresh lease of life to this language of homely communion and raises it to the level of a polished literary medium, the future for it is not very bright.

§ 324. Recently there has been a conscious attempt in Goa to raise this language to the rank of a literary medium. Many literary works of great merit have been written, for instance, by Mr. Valavalikar. A number of plays have been written and

staged in Bombay in s. A renaissance is slowly coming in, but how far it will succeed is a question which the future will decide.

On the other hand a unificatory movement is afoot to mingle Konkani with Marāṭhi and to adopt Marāṭhi as the common medium. And the conditions are quite favourable, for Marāṭhi is the nearest to Konkani, being derived from the same common ancestor, and a large percentage of the Konkani speakers are already conversant with the literary Marāṭhi through the literature of the Saints. But these are problems which would scarcely interest a linguist dealing with the formation of the language. They are of interest to the general linguist alone, and perhaps to political groups. Some general linguist may perhaps undertake this study at a future date when the evolution towards integration or disintegration has already progressed sufficiently.

§ 325. It is not possible to give here an account of all the Konkani dialects which are in existence today. A real field investigation may reveal a number of hitherto unknown dialects in this group. I shall merely give some information of the major dialects which have come to my notice.

In the above sketch of the formation of the language we have taken into consideration three representative dialects each of the Brahmin and Christian groups.

s. represents the dialect of the Chitrapur Sarasvats, a highly intellectual community where both men and women have a craving for higher education. At the last census organized by the community in Bombay the total number of people in the community came to about 20,000. A large number of these is naturally to be found in Bombay and its suburbs, probably a fourth of the community staying there. From this community members have gone and settled down in all parts of India. This dialect has two forms as current in South and North Kanara respectively with a distinct accent for each.

gs. is the language of the Gauda Sārasvats who not only occupy the two Kanaras along with the Chitrapur Sarasvats but have extended to Cochin also and speak an allied dialect which we distinguish as c. The Sarasvats and particularly the Gauda Sarasvats who have remained in Goa speak a dialect which they themselves style as Gomantaki, designated by us as g.



The Christian dialects have been distinguished by us as x. spoken in South Kanara, nx. as spoken in North Kanara and gx. as spoken in Goa and the north. The Christian community has spread as far north as Karachi and has added immensely to the prestige of Konkani literature. While the literature published by the Brahmin communities has been invariably in the Devanāgarī characters, the Christian communities have employed Kannada and Roman characters as well.

The rest of the dialects in general are distinguished either by caste name or the name of the place. Thus the Konkani dialect spoken in the Belgaum district has been returned in the Linguistic Survey of India as Bārdeskari. Similarly the K. spoken in Sāvantvādī has been designated by me as sv. in my Comparative Glossary.

According to the LSI. the Kuḍālī dialect is spoken from the Santarda River, which falls in the Arabian Sea at Terekhol, in the South, to Deogad, Kankoli, the Phonda Ghar in the north. The eastern and western boundaries are the Sahyādri Hills and the Arabian Sea respectively. It is also spoken in Bombay Town and Island. The numbers returned for the LSI are 183,600 for Sawantwadi, 302,000 for Ratnagiri and 90,000 for Bombay Town and Island.

Dāldis or Nawāits are a caste of Muslim fishermen, claiming an Arab descent, and speaking a broken Konkani. They are found in Bombay Town and Island, Janjira, Ratnagiri and the two Kanaras. Their dialect agrees most with Kuḍālī. I have included in the Glossary dk. and dj. being the Dāldī dialects spoken in Karwar, and Janjira, from the specimens in the LSI.

The Chitpāvani is the mother tongue of the Chitpāvens or Konkanaṣṭhas found in Ratnagiri, Sāvantwadi and Bombay Town and Island. They speak standard Marāṭhī for intercommunal intercourse, but reserve Chitpāvani for their home tongue. Of course with the newer generations and owing to conditions specified already it is fast disappearing. This dialect forms a connecting link between the dialects of Konkani and those of Marāṭhī.

Besides these there are a number of other dialects not recorded in the LSI. The so-called Saurāṣṭra Brahmins of Āndhradeśa who are also found in parts of H. E. H. the Nizam's territory,

and who pursue the goldsmith's profession generally speak a dialect of *Koṅkaṇī*. Kaka Kalelkar has referred to their dialect and promised a detailed study.

Another of the less known dialects is *Gāvdī*; spoken by a wandering tribe in the Kanaras and in Cochin who deal with and specialize in herbs. In this connection it would be worth remembering that in *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* it was the cooperation of *Koṅkaṇī* Brahmins which gave Van Rhee the specimens found in Malabar with their native names.

§ 326. The present study of the formation of an interesting language has now come to a conclusion after a period of nearly six years. The main object with which it was undertaken was to stimulate interest in the speakers of these dialects in the study of their own mother tongue in all its completeness and to show the methods which should be applied to that study from the modern scientific point of view.

There are many gaps in this study: particularly for the less known dialects we have still to gather fresh material from the fast disappearing communities. Among the most urgent needs are detailed descriptive grammars of all such dialects, with a study of their phonetics and as complete a lexicon as possible. Perhaps any folk-songs, proverbs, etc. which may still be retained in them need proper recording. Above all, I appeal to scholars in each of these dialects to study their own dialect carefully along the lines which I have tried to illustrate here.

The present work has shown in general the main lines of development of *Koṅkaṇī* as a language. It is now up to the speakers of each individual dialect to study it in this light, to fill in the gaps wherever they exist, and to recover as much of the dialectical material as it is possible at a time when such material is positively in the danger of being wiped off.

Another work of prime importance which will throw welcome light on the development of *Koṅkaṇī* is a well-documented history of *Koṅkaṇī* communities from all available early and medieval sources, and particularly on the entry of the Sarasvats in Gomantaka. Only a careful scholar specialising in South Indian History and acquainted with the first-hand sources of such history will be able to undertake this study.

## MISCELLANEA

### BĀLACARITA : A RĀMAIC PLAY

BY

Prof. C. R. DEVADHAR

The late Gaṇapatiśāstri, the famous discoverer of the plays ascribed to Bhāsa, postulated the existence of a Bālacarita by Bhāsa dealing with the early life of Rāma on the strength of a citation from Bālacarita in the Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viśva-nātha which the commentator, Rāmacaraṇa Tarkavāgīśa, explains as the words addressed by Bhārgava to Rāma (रामं प्रति भार्गवस्योक्तिरियम् ।). There is a difference of opinion among commentators as regards the exact context of the verse, as another commentator refers the words to Daśaratha (रामं प्रति दशरथस्योक्तिरियम् ।); yet there seems to be a general agreement among them that the verse in question occurs in a play dealing with the life of Rāma. There is, however, no authority for the assumption that it is from a play by Bhāsa on Rāma's exploits in childhood; the assumption is gratuitous not only because no one mentions the name of Bhāsa in this connection, but also because, as will be presently shown, the work in question deals not with the childhood of Rāma, but rather with the entire story of the Rāmāyaṇa up to the discomfiture and death of Rāvaṇa, or roughly the story dealt with by Bhavabhūti in his महावीरचरित which is alternatively called पूर्वचरित in contradistinction to उत्तरचरित or उत्तररामचरित which deals with the later life of Rāma. The word बाल in बालचरित seems to be used in the sense of the early life of Rāma, and the play in question reminds one of बालरामायण of Rājasekhara which also deals with the Rāma legend upto the death of Rāvaṇa and the installation of Rāma. It is, however, doubtful whether Rājasekhara means पूर्वचरित by बालरामायण, since his Mahābhārata play is called बालभारत, and it is possible that the word बालरामायण suggests a treatment of the subject-matter which will commend itself to the child-mind as against प्रौढरामायण which would appeal to the grown up and the elderly. One thing

is certain that, whether it is the बालरामायण of Rājasekhara or the बालचरित under reference, both these plays deal with the early life of Rāma, i. e. that part of the story which is dramatised by Bhavabhūti in his पूर्वचरित or महावीरचरित.

The verse in question, viz.

उत्साहातिशयं वत्स तव बाल्यं च पश्यतः ।

मम हर्षविषादाभ्यामाक्रान्तं युगपन्मनः ॥

is cited as from बालचरित in illustration of विधान, one of the elements of the Mukhasamdhī. We find the same verse, cited in the same context by Sāgaranandin in his Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratna-kośa who, according to Mr. Dillon, "may be as early as the 13th century." Whatever the exact date of Sāgaranandin, it is incontrovertible that even the most inferior date for him is prior to that of Viśvanātha who belongs to the 14th century; and it is, therefore, probable that Viśvanātha's source for the citation was Sāgaranandin; but it is also possible that he may have access to the original play itself, in which case it is not necessary to assume that Viśvanātha was indebted to Sāgaranandin for this citation.

In addition to the above verse we have three more citations from a Bāla-carita—altogether *four* citations—and not *three* as some<sup>1</sup> understand. We shall take all these citations in order and demonstrate that they deal with the life of Rāma.

The first is at pages 23-24, lines 540-543. (Dillon's edition).

यथा बालचरिते रामायणे विश्वामित्रेण रामे (should be रामाय) कथितम् ।

रक्षोरुधिरपानस्य बाणानां भव राघव ।

इदमाचमनं तावत्ताडकास्त्रं भविष्यति ॥

The text is corrupt, and we expect रामाय for रामे and तव for भव in the first line of the verse,

"The blood of ताडका would be just the first sip of the drink of demon-blood that awaits your arrows."

This illustrates the मुख of the play—in which is sown the seed (बीज) of the ultimate end—such as the destruction of the demon-brood (रक्षोरुधिरपान). So the end of the play is the destruction of the enemy viz. the Rākṣasas and their lord Rāvana.

<sup>1</sup> A. D. Pusalkar, the Problem of Bāla-carita, Festschrift Prof. P. V. Kane p. 341.

The next citation occurs at page 26, lines 611-613.

तथा बालचरिते—

उत्साहातिशयं वत्स तव बाल्यं च पश्यतः ।

मम हर्षविषादाभ्यामाक्रान्तं युगपन्मनः ॥

This illustrates विधान, an element of the Mukha-Saṁdhi; naturally, therefore, this must be a citation from the first or the opening act of the play, where Rāma's encounter with Bhārgava, or his breaking of Śiva's bow seems to be the event under reference.

The last two citations occur on page 32, lines 751-753 and lines 755-757, illustrating Utkṣipta and Toṭaka respectively, two elements of the Garbha-Saṁdhi:—

यथा बालचरिते

राज्यं जनकराजेन्द्रसुताप्राप्तिपणीकृतम् ।

सुग्रीवस्य कपेर्दत्तं रामेण हतवालिना ॥

“Rāma, after killing Vāli, has handed over to the monkey (chief) Sugrīva his kingdom, which was pledged (by the latter) for the recovery of the daughter of the excellent king Janaka”.

संरम्भवचनं तोटकं, तत्रैव रावणः ।

एष नो विहृतज्ञातिस्नेहोद्बुधः पतिष्यति ।

क्रोधाग्निरचिराद्वैरिस्तेन्यजीर्णवने महात् ॥

“This fire of my wrath which has blazed up fiercely by the oil—my love for my fallen kinsmen—will soon catch the decaying forest, the army of my foeman”.

These citations indicate a very advanced stage in the action, and this is also borne out by the fact that they belong to the Garbha-Saṁdhi which represents the third stage out of the five stages in which the action of a play is divided according to Hindu Dramaturgy.

These four verses from the Bālacarita should be sufficient to convince any one that the play is obviously a Rāma play, and deals with the पूर्वचरित (बालचरित) of Rāma. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, however, thinks otherwise and still clings to the view that the verse उत्साहातिशयं etc. given by Sāgaranandin and Viśvanātha belongs to the बालचरित ascribed to Bhāsa, although the verse is not found in any of the Mss of the play, so far discovered. In doing so, he wants to persuade us into believing (i) that the verse belongs to Bhāsa, for which there is no evidence; (ii) that

it is to be located in the *Bālacarita* though not found in the available Mss; (iii) that the testimony of the commentators of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* who refer the speech to *Bhārgava* or *Daśaratha* is unreliable; (iv) and the evidence of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* is also nugatory, "the first quotation of which appends the word *Rāmāyaṇa* to *Bālacarita* (बालचरिते रामायणे p. 23) which, however, cannot be taken to mean that *Bālacarita* *Nāṭaka* dealt with the early life of *Rāma*;" and in support of this last article of his faith, he argues that the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* is available to us only in a single ms; and in the absence of further Mss of the work it is not possible to venture any definite opinion! And yet he has the temerity of asserting that there is only one बालचरित and that is the one published in the *Trivandrum Series*!

Dr. Pusalkar brings forward another line of argument and dogmatically asserts that "in dramatic literature at least there are no two works in Sanskrit even by different writers bearing identical titles; much less would one author select the same title for his distinct works." One has simply to refer to the *Catalogus Catalogorum* or to the *History of Sanskrit Literature* by *Krishnamachariar* to find quite a large number of plays by different authors bearing the same title e. g. (i) अनङ्गविजय of शिवरामकृष्ण and of जगन्नाथ; (ii) अभिरामचरित by अनपोत, and by माणिक; (iii) उत्तररामचरित by भवभूति and by रामवर्मयुवराज; (iv) उषापरिणय by कृष्णदेवराय, by श्रीनिवासाचार्य and by रुद्रदेव; (v) कन्दर्पदर्प by रामराय, by श्रीकण्ठ, and by श्रीकृष्ण; (vi) कंसवध by शेषकृष्ण, by हरिदास and by दामोदर. In fact the list is too long to mention here.

Dr. Pusalkar further refers to a South-Indian work, *Cilappadikāram* of the 2nd or 3rd century, which "definitely refers to the *Bālacarita* dealing with the early life of *Kṛṣṇa*." Now the scholar on whose testimony Dr. Pusalkar should have relied—Mr. K. G. Sankar of the Imperial Library—distinctly gives it as his view that there is no reference to *Bālacarita* in the quotation from the *Cilappadikāram* and two commentators of the work support him in this view. Yet Dr. Pusalkar who humbly confesses his ignorance of Southern Vernaculars, thinks that the word "*Bālacarita*" in the passage is purposely used suggesting the drama of that name. Dr. Pusalkar need not have gone to an obscure South Indian work to prove the antiquity of the *Bālacarita*; he would find the word बालचरित in the *Kādambari* of *Bāṇabhaṭṭa* in the following passage :—कृष्णबालचरितमिव तदरुदम्ब-

शाखादिरूढहरिकृतजलप्रपातकीडम् । ( Page 83, Kane's edition ). We have to prick up our ears at the words बालचरित wherever they occur and must read in them an allusion to the play of Bhāsa.

So Bāṇa knew the बालचरित ; it could be no other work than the Trivandrum play, for it distinctly refers to Kṛṣṇa's early life ! What more proof is wanted to prove the antiquity of the play ?

The sins of commentators are, indeed, scarlet ; they quote from memory and often record opinions which are belied by facts. But in making such accusations against these scholiasts whose services to literature ought to move our admiration rather than their errors rouse our chagrin, one must be absolutely certain of one's ground. It is nothing but obstinacy and purblindness to persist in saying that there is no Bālacarita based on the earlier life of Rāma, when as a matter of fact Sāgaranandin himself says that he refers to बालचरिते रामायणे, and when further, leaving aside the stanza उत्साहातिशयं etc, the other three citations from the बालचरित distinctly refer to incidents in Rāma's life.

## REVIEWS

Karnatak Inscriptions, Vol. I. Edited by R. S. Panchamukhi,  
M.A., Director of Kannada Research, Bombay Province.  
Pages xxi+180. Kannada Research Office, Dharwar, 1941.  
Price Rs. 4/-.

Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi deserves the best thanks of all those who are interested in Kannada research for bringing out this interesting and useful volume of epigraphs. It is among the first fruits of the research centre created at Dharwar by the Bombay Government, so recently as October 1939, for the collection and publication of the basic material pertaining to Karnatak history and Kannada Literature. The volume under review bears ample testimony to the wisdom of this step and of the capacity and enthusiasm of the first Director of Kannada Research.

This valuable collection of 69 inscriptions, arranged in the dynastic and chronological order, includes only seven epigraphs previously known, while all the rest have been published and edited here for the first time. The older ones have been given not only because they are not easily accessible but also because they bear emendations of text and reinterpretation. Of the 62 original inscriptions only one (No. 28) is on copper-plate, all the remaining being lithic records. Clear facsimiles of the more important or representative ones have been provided. 12 from the Saundatti Taluka of Belgaum Dist., 11 from the Badami Taluka of Bijapur Dist., 10 from the Adur and Shiggaon Talukas of Dharwar Dist., and 36 from the Bhatkal Petha of N. Kanara Dist. They range, chronologically, from 610 A. D. to 1522 A. D. and represent, politically, the rule of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Chālukyas of Kalyāni, Kalachuryas, Hoysalas, Yādavas of Devagiri, Rāṭṭas of Saundatti, and Vijayanagara dynasties. Of the feudatories of the last, the chief of Nagiré and Hāduvalli come in for a good deal of notice. The copper inscription referred to above is in Sanskrit and affords one of the earliest specimens of the Nandi-Nāgari alphabet so largely used during the Vijayanagara period. All the others are in Kannada characters, though some are composed partly in Sanskrit and



partly in Kannada. The entire arrangement of the inscriptions is no less of Palaeographic and literary interest than of historical value.

From the point of view of positive data, in a brief notice like the present, we can only cite a few samples. Apart from points of dynastic interest like the reconstruction of the genealogical tree of the Nagiré Chiefs ( pp. xiv-xvii ) made possible by these inscriptions, and the additional light thrown on the derivation of the name ' Hoysala ' ( No. 28, p. 60 ), we have much valuable information contained in the Kanara inscriptions regarding the boundaries of the several principalities of Tuluva, Haiva and Koṅkaṇa etc. as well as about the social, religious and political conditions of this region. Among others of Brahmanical interest we have not a few inscriptions of the Jainas also. Of the latter many of which commemorate the deaths of local heroes, besides grants to individuals and basadis, some ( No. 49, pp. 113-117 and 66, pp. 159-162 ) record cases of *sallekhana* while others describe parochial struggles between chieftains, warriors, and sometimes even brothers, immortalising acts of noble and ignoble sacrifice. Nos. 62-63 of 1481-82 refer to triumphs against the ' Turika ' ( Turk ) Nijāmudīna Malukha who was sent by Kesarikāna Sultan of Gova.

" One special feature of the inscriptions in this Volume, " observes the Editor, " is that they are worded in rich colloquial vocabulary current in the locality." The richness of this collection, however, is not confined to its vocabulary, as it must have been clear from the foregoing. The editing and presentation are scholarly and artistic. One cannot, however, help wishing that full English translations of the texts had also been given instead of merely the gist of the inscriptions as has been done in the introductory notes. A meticulous adherence to uniform spelling of words like Jain or Jaina and Karnatak or Karnataka might also have been shown. The plates and the Index have been carefully prepared.

S. R. Sharma

THE PHILOSOPHY OF AESTHETIC PLEASURE—(By  
P. Pañcāpagesa Sastri, M.O.L. Annamalai University,  
Annamalai Nagar, Price Rs. 3/- )

The work under review is the author's thesis ( approved ) for the degree of Master of Oriental Learning ( M. O. L. ) by the University of Madras. In this, the author attempts to explain the process of pleasure derived from the reading of a poetic composition. This analysis of the enjoyment of aesthetic pleasure or the Kāvyaśvāda—has been attempted by him not independently but with the help of the master-minds of mediaeval India who subjected the question to the closest scrutiny.

Such discussions are based on the famous Rasa-Sūtra of Bharata, in particular, occurring in the sixth chapter of his Nāṭyaśāstra. Sharṅga Deo in his Saṁgīta Ratnākara (1. 1. 17) mentions the names of the commentators of the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata—

व्याख्यातारो भारतीये लोलदोन्दशङ्कुकाः ।

भट्टाभिनवगुप्तश्च श्रीमत्कीर्तिधरोऽपरः ॥

Of the commentaries of these, the one of अभिनवगुप्त alone is extant and the existence of the rest (except that of कीर्तिधर) is to be unfortunately inferred from the references to them in the अभिनवभारती of अभिनवगुप्त. अभिनवभारती and लोचन ( which is अभिनवगुप्त's commentary on the ध्वन्यालोक of Ānandavardhana ) form the main basis of the interpretation of the views of Bharata on Rasa-realisation. But to get at these fountain-heads is not an easy task. The text of अभिनवभारती as it is available to us in print is errorridden. It has got to be emended every now and then and in a few places reconstructed also. The emended and reconstructed text, also, is not altogether without other difficulties. It is terse and recondite and baffles the attempts of a modern student of Sanskrit, ill-equipped with old requisites. Later works on literary criticism also are similarly difficult of access ( though on a lesser scale ).

Mr. P. Pañcāpagesa Sastri, the author, deserves to be congratulated on putting up a gallant fight against these odds and on presenting to the students of this Śāstra a neat and intelligible interpretation of the views of these master-minds.

He, first of all, states Bharata's view on Rasa-realisation and then busies himself with setting forth the Generation theory of भट्टलोल्लट, the Influence theory of श्रीशङ्कर, the Enjoyment theory of भट्टनायक, ( all of which are imperfect and erroneous in one respect or the other and which, therefore, fail to give the correct interpretation of Bharata's view ) and lastly the Suggestion or Revelation ( अभिव्यक्ति ) theory of अभिनवगुप्त, which is regarded as the true and correct presentation of the Rasa-sūtra and is accepted as an authority, in this respect, down to our times. Although अभिनवगुप्त stands at the head of a vast multitude of literary critics who have thought it best to follow him, still some of them have got their own contributions to offer in this respect. जगन्नाथ while following अभिनव in the main, differs from him slightly in saying that अभिनव's अभिव्यक्ति was भगवांवरणा चित् and thus brings the theory of अभिनव nearer to the teachings of Advaita Vedānta. महिमभट्ट and others opposed the views of अभिनव but जगन्नाथ has met them ably. All this has been treated in a separate chapter by the author. In the last chapter, views on Sānta as a poetical Rasa have been briefly given. Lastly the views of रूपगंगास्वामिन् and मधुसूदनसरस्वती on भक्ति as the Supreme Rasa have been indicated and the गृङ्गार synthesis of भोज, the करुण synthesis of ( भवभूति ? ) and the अद्भुत synthesis of नारायण, have been briefly summarised

The thesis really supplies a long felt want. It is, therefore, highly useful to the student of Sanskrit. In the words of S. Kuppuswami Sāstrigal, who writes a foreword to the present work "The Systematic account, which this thesis gives of the wherefore of the Aesthetic satisfaction, will be a contribution of considerable interest to the literature on the subject in English."

In this respect, one thing, however, must be said before the review concludes. It is a welcome feature of the present decade that it has produced excellent works illucidating the principles of Sanskrit Sāhitya Śāstra—namely 'The theories of Rasa and Dhvani' by A. Sankarṇ (1919), 'Concepts of Rīti and Guṇa' by P. C. Lahiri (1937), 'The number of Rasas' and 'Alaṃkāra prakāśa' by V. Raghavan (1940) not to speak of the earlier attempts of scholars like S. K. De and Kane in this field. All these learned writers have brought the Rasa theory within the easy reach of the modern student. All thanks to them. But with due deference

to their scholarship, one feels inclined to say that none of them has yet attempted a thorough-going scrutiny of the old Rasa-theory with its crude Psychology in the light of the fully equipped Psychology of the modern times. In fact, the whole Rasa theory is based on the principles of psychology and phisiology. Scholars must tell us (1) whether all the thirty three व्यभिचारिभावs are pure emotions or are an admixture of emotions and physical states, (2) whether उत्साह which has been set down as the स्थायिभाव of वीर is either an emotion or a mere physical or mental energy that is found at the bottom of every human activity. There appears to be a complete lack of harmony among Indian writers about the English equivalents to be used for the स्थायिभावs, the व्यभिचारिभावs and mere भावs. The words emotions, moods and sentiments are found promiscuously used. Such a state of things would hardly appeal to the scientifically minded European Scholars. This is just to indicate some minor problems lying at the very threshold of the discussion. It is hoped, therefore, that an attempt in this direction would soon be made and our Rasa-theory of by-gone years would be properly presented to the modern world in a more scientific form. This, when achieved, would be a more useful contribution.

K. N. Watave

Outlines of Jainism : by J. Jaini, edited by F. W. Thomas,  
Cambridge, 1940. pp. xl, 159. Sh. 6/-

The present book is a mere reprint ( with corrections ) of the first edition, published in 1915. The only addition made in this is on page xviii where a few works on Jainism are added. The list is not exhaustive and leaves many works of note out of consideration, which ought to have been added. The work has always been a popular exposition of Jainism for the beginners ; the most valuable feature of the book is that it gives sources in the original, on which the exposition is based. Two charts on the Tirthankars and the classification of Karman add to the usefulness of the work. The book would be useful to Indian University students of Jainism, although the price seems to be beyond their purse. We strongly recommend the publishers to issue a cheaper Indian edition for one Rupee.

R. D. Vadekar

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The Student's English-Pāīya Dictionary, with three  
Appendices, by H. R. Kapadia, Surat, 1941.

The present dictionary is the first of its kind on the market. Ever since Ardhamāgadhi was introduced in the undergraduate courses, our students have felt the want of an English-Ardhamāgadhi dictionary and we thank Professor Kapadia for bringing out this handy work. As is natural the work could not be exhaustive on account of its compass. We find however the author's practice of giving *prakrit* verbs with end-consonants objectionable. They ought to have been given as *pīlei*, *vahei*, etc. Further the author could have saved much space and incorporated many more words if instead of giving genders by *m. f. n.* he would have indicated them by nom. sg. as *vaṇam*, *sūlo*, etc. We strongly recommend the book to the undergraduate students of Prakrit, who have to do translation work into Prakrit.

R. D. Vadekar

NĀYĀDHAMMAKAHĀO, The Sixth Āṅga of the Śvetāmbara Jain Canon, critically edited by Prof. N. V. Vaidya, M.A., Fergusson College, Poona, iv, pp. 245. Poona, 1940. Price Rs. 5 / Shillings 7/6.

Prof. Vaidya has critically edited the sixth āṅga of the Jain canon here for the first time. He has collated five Mss., of which only one seems to be good. Practically all the variants, as Prof. Vaidya observes, are orthographical. The editor has given the variants at the end of the book, which is rather irksome to the student, although the editor has the previous example of Prof. Oldenberg, who gives the variants in the Vinaya Piṭaka at the end of the work. We very much miss in this edition a good index, giving proper names, geographical places and technical terms; but the editor assures that he intends to publish it at a future date. Further the edition ought to have been accompanied by an introduction examining in detail the stratification of the text, inter-relation of the various strata and the problem of the *varṇakas* which is a peculiar feature of the Jain texts, not unlike the *peyyālas* of the Buddhist texts. We strongly recommend to the editor to bring out a good English translation\* of this interesting Jain text for the use of undergraduate and post-graduate students, to which the index and introduction referred to above may be appended. In the meanwhile we congratulate Prof. Vaidya for having made this edition available to the university students, which was a desideratum. We hope Prof. Vaidya will undertake critical editions of other Jain texts, especially that of the Uttarādhyayana, which is badly needed for our students.

R. D. Vadekar

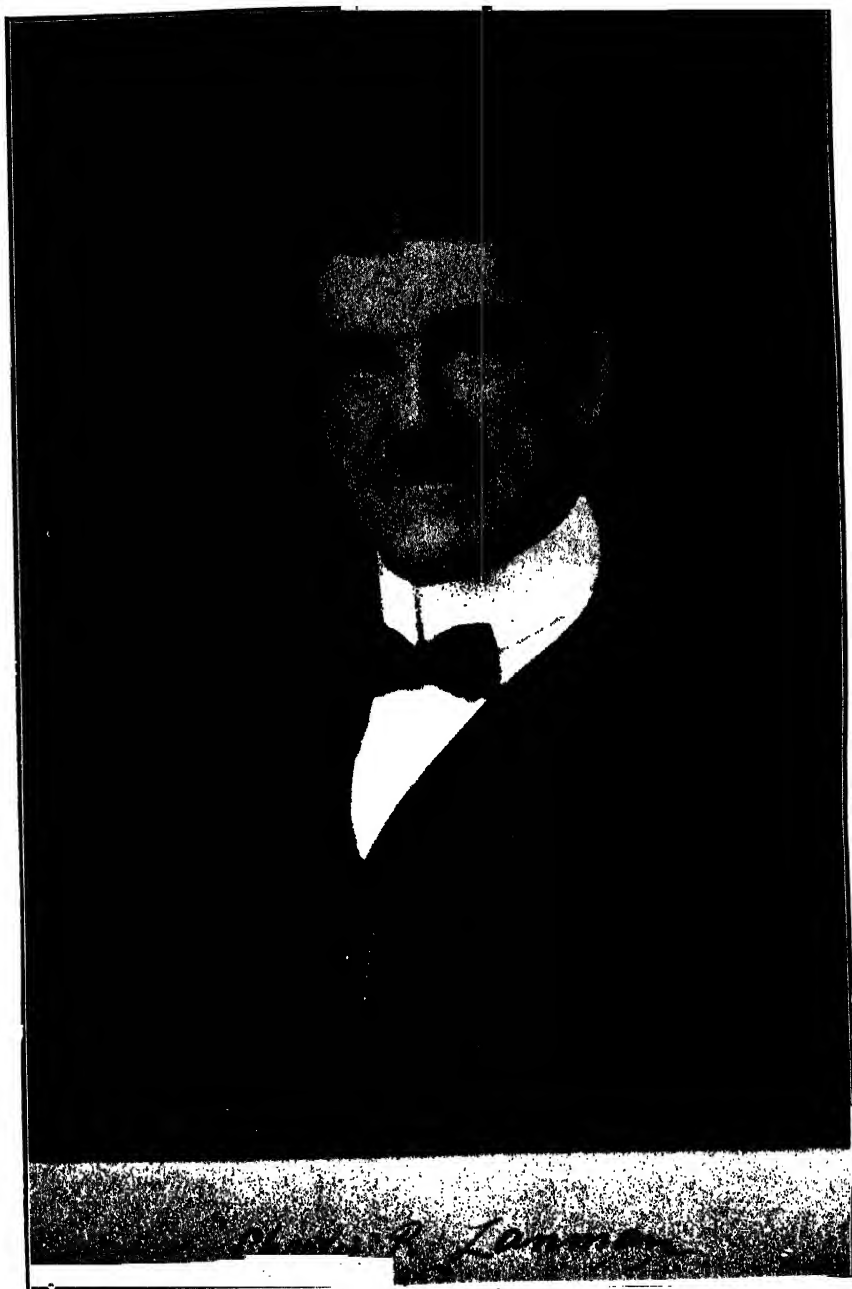
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The editor has already translated *chapters* iv-viii, ix and xvi elsewhere.

## IN MEMORIAM C. R. LANMAN

Professor Charles Rockwell Lanman passed away on February the 20th, 1941, in his ninety-first year, having fully attained the Prophet's venerable age of four-score and ten. In Professor Lanman there was indeed much of the austere dignity and the childlike simplicity of the prophet, which not infrequently repelled men during the earlier part of their acquaintance with him, but which eventually never failed to secure for him the devoted love of the few pupils and admirers who stayed with him long enough to discover and appreciate the warmth of his heart and his genuine desire to be of service to all. His keen sense of duty, the high ideal of perfection even in the minutest details of his work which he imposed both upon himself and upon his pupils and collaborators, and the patient, plodding manner in which he strove to attain it—with often an utter oblivion of the sense of proportion—can be mentioned as the most outstanding features of Lanman's personality, which put many humorous and almost classic anecdotes concerning his methods and eccentricities into circulation to the no small delectation of his students and colleagues.

Professor Lanman was born on July 8, 1850, at Norwich, Connecticut, U. S. A. He graduated from Yale College in 1871. He was primarily a student of the Classics. Like Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Lanman took to Sanskrit only as his second love, which, however, became his dominating passion under the inspiring guidance of Whitney of Yale (1871-1873), and subsequently of Roth (Tübingen), Weber (Berlin), and other noted German professors of what may be called the first generation of the eminent Orientalists of Germany. In 1880 Lanman published his magnum opus: *A Statistical Account of Noun-Inflection in the Veda*, which even now, after over sixty years of Vedic research, is the most authoritative text in that particular branch of Vedic study, needing astonishingly little correction in detail. Lanman used to relate how, as the proofs of the Indexes of the book were being passed, Whitney spent one whole night checking up all the references to the R̥gveda and other texts; and having discovered a couple of inaccuracies, read a homily to



Born on  
8-7-1850 ]

**Prof. C. R. Lanman**

[ Died on  
20-2-1941

*Photo by courtesy of Dr. S. K. Belvalkur*





his pupil on the need for showing greater consideration for the time and convenience of his wouldbe readers, who, not finding the specific word at the place cited, would be compelled to spend, in hunting for it, several hours of valuable time in a mood not likely to be complimentary to the author. Lanman never forgot that lesson, and insisted that all should, in their turn, learn it from him.

Professor Lanman's technique and methodology are best illustrated in his *Sanskrit Reader with Vocabulary and Notes*, which, first published in 1888 and re-issued in thousands of copies more than half-a-dozen times, remains still a model of what such a book should be. Although designed as beginner's book, many advanced students of research still find it worth their while to refer to it now and then for correct and authoritative views on either side of any vexed question of grammar, literature or culture falling within its purview.

Professor Lanman's most solid contribution to "Indic Philology" was the foundation, jointly with his devoted pupil and friend, Henry Clarke Warren (of whom he has written a short and most readable biography), of the *Harvard Oriental Series*. Under Lanman's General Editorship thirty-one volumes were actually issued between 1891 and 1932, and at the time of his death Lanman had finished his editorial work on the three volumes of Geldner's Translation of the Rig Veda and sent them to a press in Germany, where they must now await the end of the present world-war. The only other Oriental Series published in the West that can be mentioned along with the *Harvard Oriental Series* is Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*, comprising 49 volumes. (Vol. 50 is merely an Index-volume subsequently compiled.) In the *Harvard Oriental Series* the General Editor's personality is felt in every volume issued under it: this is not so in the other Series. Lanman's own contribution to the Harvard Series is an English Translation of the *Karpūramañjarī*, edited by Sten Konow, who gave up his own attempted translation when he discovered that, even after continued revision, he could not bring it to the standard that Lanman demanded of every translation from an ancient classic. The writer of these lines could well imagine (long before he had heard it from Konow himself) Konow's irritation in the matter, because the present writer had himself prepared an English

Translation of a Sanskrit Play for the Harvard Oriental Series (H. O. S., No. 21) which, for nearly six months, was passing through the crucible of Lanman's acute, searching, but never ill-meant criticism. No detail was too slight to escape Lanman's attention, and upon every one of them he brought to bear a wealth of illustrations culled from his very wide experience as a scholar and an editor.

Professor Lanman's constant complaint it used to be that he had to spend considerable time and labour in perfecting other scholars' works for publication, laying aside for the time his own literary undertakings. Such works include not only the Translation of the *Atharva Veda* (H. O. S., Nos. 7 and 8) left incomplete by his teacher Whitney, or Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhi-magga* begun and left incomplete by his friend Warren, or Geldner's Translation of the *Rig Veda* upon which he was working even at the advanced age of 88, but good many other works also, the more notable amongst them being E. V. Arnold's *Vedic Metre* (1905, Cambridge University Press); Avery's *Verb-Inflection in the Rig Veda* (published in the JAOS like Lanman's own *Noun-Inflection*); and Caland's *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in the Kāṇva Recension* (originally submitted for the H. O. S., but subsequently withdrawn and published elsewhere: the present writer had an occasion to see the press-copy of the Introduction to that work, which exhibited unmistakable traces of Lanman's revisionary labours). Besides, for fifteen years Lanman worked as Joint-Editor of the *Journal and Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, and for six years as Editor of volumes X to XIV of the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*; and even these labours he took quite seriously, giving to them the very best service that he was capable of rendering.

Professor Lanman came to the Harvard University as Professor in 1880, and became Emeritus Professor after putting in some fifty years of service in that institution. He relinquished his work as General Editor of the *Harvard Oriental Series* only two years prior to his death, when he felt compelled to desist from literary labours altogether.

Professor Lanman received high literary honours from the leading Institutions, Societies, Universities and States throughout the world; and in 1929 his colleagues and friends in many

lands honoured him by offering him, in gratitude and affection, a volume of Indian Studies. In 1889-90 he visited India, and, long afterwards, he used to introduce an occasional Indian reminiscence into his speech. He led a modest and exemplary family-life. Married in 1888, Mrs. Lanman pre-deceased her husband by about five years. Of six children, four daughters and one son survive. A man of moderate means, the greatest asset that he leaves behind is his very large and valuable private library. He was frugal in habits and always loved an active and vigorous life. He was fond of walking and swimming and, weather permitting, he never missed, even when he was more than eighty, an opportunity of rowing on the river *Charles*, which was about a mile from his residence. The *Harvard Crimson*—a daily paper conducted by the students of the Harvard University—wittily proposed to change the Professor's name from *Charles Rockwell Lanman* into *Charles River Lanman*, and the Professor felt considerably flattered by that proposal.

Professor Lanman entertained a very high sense of the dignity of his calling as a professor, author and editor. In his Editorial Note to Volume 21 of the *Harvard Oriental Series* he writes :

“ Within the last decade, the West and the Far East have become virtually near neighbours. From the responsibilities of such neighbourhood there is no escape. We must have to do with the East, and as members of the world-family of nations we must treat the East aright. To treat the people of the East aright, we must respect them ; and to respect them, we must know them. And in order that we may know them, competent scholars must study their history and make it accessible to the Occident. The business of the Orientalist is something that is in vital relation with the practical and political needs of the day. ”

This was written in 1914. Since then we had the last European War which was described as the “ War to end war ” ; and the present World War, which many somewhat prematurely describe as the “ Birth-throes of the New Order of World-wide Peace, Freedom, and Fraternity. ” Whether this prophecy comes out truer than that of the earlier War rests of course upon the knees of the Gods. But whatever the issue, the mission of promoting friendly understanding between the nations of the

world—particularly of restraining and quieting their passions raised to fervid heat in consequence of the present War—will remain ; and in that mission the Orientalist of the future must find his place.

Entertaining such a lofty conception of his profession, it was no wonder that Professor Lanman, when he heard of the attempts that were being made towards the foundation of an Oriental Research Institute in Poona, hailed the proposal with delight and became one of the earliest Life-members of the B. O. R. Institute. A life such as Lanman's will not have been lived in vain if some at least of the Oriental scholars of the present generation understand, appreciate, and endeavour to practise in their professional work the lofty idealism that dominated Lanman's career and achievements.

17-1-42

S. K. Belvalkar



*Charles R. Lanman*

Born on  
8-7-1850 ]

**Prof. C. R. Lanman**

[ Died on  
20-2-1941

*Photo by courtesy of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar*



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MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA DR. SIR GANGĀNATHA JHA

KT., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D.

( 1872-1941 )

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In the passing away of Sir Ganganatha Jha on the night of the 9th Nov. 1941 at Allahabad at the ripe age of seventy-two, the world of Sanskrit Scholarship has sustained an irreparable loss. There are many who have studied Sanskrit in the traditional way and have become great Masters and Pandits; many more still who have studied Sanskrit language and literature in the Western way and attained great eminence in the world of Oriental Scholarship; but while the comparative and critical aspect, and the breadth and catholicism of the modern way of studying is woefully missing in the first type of Savants, the depth, accuracy and thoroughness of the traditional way is so often wanting in the second type. Sir Ganganatha, however, combined both the thoroughness and depth of the traditional method with the critical acumen and breadth of the western way, and thus for over fifty years stood as a great doyen of Sanskrit learning whose word was almost law in the field of Oriental Scholarship.

From very early life, he had dedicated himself to scholarship; he realised how difficult it was for students to approach the great *darśanas* along the tortuous by-paths and avenues of the traditional method, and entered into a sort of a covenant with Dr. G. Thibaut, his predecessor and chief, that between them they should provide English translations of the classical *Bhāṣyas* in all the six systems of philosophy. Dr. Thibaut's monumental translations of the *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* and *Rāmānujabhāṣya* were the result of this covenant; Sir Ganganatha shouldered the less attractive and more difficult task of translating the recondite *darśanas* of *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Sāṃkhya*, and *Yoga*. The whole of his life, he worked in this scarcely spectacular rôle of a translator and as many as fifty works came from his facile and fluent pen.

*Mīmāṃsā* was his special study and his translations of the *Śābarabhāṣya* ( 1933-36 ), the *Śloka-vārttika* ( 1905 ) and *Tantra-*



*vārttika* (1924) of Kumārila are indispensable for the modern study of the Mīmāṃsā. Of especial value is his study of *Prābhākara-Mīmāṃsā*, which provides introduction to a branch of Mīmāṃsā of which very little is known. It is, moreover, a work in which departing from his rôle of a mere translator he has written an original treatise in which the neo-mīmāṃsā position of the Prābhākara School is set forth succinctly in all its details. He also translated the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita, a Buddhist treatise of exceptional difficulty. He did not confine himself to the Darśanas only, and mention may be made of his translation of the *Kāvya prakāśa* which was one of his juvenile works, and his *Magnum Opus* the translation of *Manusmṛti* with exegetical and comparative notes, and a translation of Medhātithi's difficult commentary.

One is simply staggered at the stupendous extent of his work, but that gives us only one side of the man's activity; almost all his life he was burdened with administrative duties. Beginning as a Librarian, and progressing towards the Vice-Chancellorship of the Allahabad University, which he held for the record period of nine years, through a professorship in Muir College and the Principalship of the Benares Sanskrit College, he was a most hard-worked man, and yet he worked without demur or complaint.

Mm. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha was an Honorary Member of the Bhandarkar Institute, besides being a member of the Board of Referees for the Mahābhārata work, since 1925. He was also a member of the Regulating Council from 1918 to 1924. As a life-member of the Institute he took keen interest in all its activities, and in his demise the Institute has lost one of its greatest friends and Sanskrit learning, its greatest votary. Truly do we feel like the old poet ह्य सरस्वति विधवासि—Alas! Sarasvati, thou art widowed!

C. R. Devadhar

श्रीदेवबोधकृतमहाभारततात्पर्यटीका

ज्ञानद्वैतिका

महाभारते आदिपर्व

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Commentary by Devabodha on the Ādiparvan  
of the Mahābhārata

Edited by

R. N. Dandekar

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

POONA

1941



## INTRODUCTION

( 1 ) Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR has proved <sup>1</sup> that the *Jñānadīpikā*, *Mahābhārata-tatparyāṭikā*, by Devabodha is the *oldest* commentary extant on the *Mahābhārata*. As such it is most valuable both for the understanding and the constitution of the text of the Great Epic. Devabodha's commentary is far superior to Nilakaṇṭha's, which is in common use and which is almost the *latest* commentary on the *Mahābhārata*, belonging as it does to the last quarter of the 17th century. Unlike other commentaries, the *Jñānadīpikā* is a concise ṭīkā ; as a rule, it explains only the difficult words and passages in the text. But "occasionally it offers explanations of constructional obscurities and grammatical difficulties, and gives the gist of the passages ; in the latter case, usually, under the citation of entire verses ( i. e. half ślokas ) from the text." <sup>2</sup> Devabodha was a well-known and highly respected Saṁnyāsi, having the title *Paramahansa Parivrajakācārya*, and his commentary has been cited with approval—nay with great reverence—by all subsequent commentators like Arjunamiśra, Sarvajñānārāyaṇa and Nilakaṇṭha among others. In fact, Arjunamiśra has based his commentary largely on that of Devabodha. Not only has Arjunamiśra given long extracts from the *Jñānadīpikā*, but he has also copied very large portions from it *verbatim*. In the opinion of Dr. SUKTHANKAR "the *Arthadīpikā* may be considered as a *revised and enlarged edition* of the *Jñānadīpikā*." <sup>3</sup> Important readings from the commentary of Devabodha have been cited in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* ( Ed ), which is being published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. <sup>4</sup> For these reasons the commentary is considered to be eminently worthy of publication and the portion

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1 *A. B. O. R. I.* Vol. XVII, pp. 185 ff.

2 SUKTHANKAR: *Prolegomena*, *Ādiparvan* LXX.

3 *Prolegomena* LXX.

4 Devabodha's commentary is unaccompanied by the text of the epic. It is not therefore possible to say, with any high degree of certainty, what version Devabodha followed. Several considerations referred to by Dr. SUKTHANKAR ( *Prolegomena* LXX ), however, "tend to show that the version of Devabodha was of the Śāradā-K type."

of the *Jñānadīpikā* dealing with the *Adīparvan* is now being published for the first time.<sup>1</sup> Devabodha's commentary on *Sabha*, *Udyoga*, *Bhīṣma* and *Droṇa* is also available and the Institute intends publishing it in course of time.

(2) The present text of the *Jñānadīpikā*, the commentary of Devabodha on the *Adīparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, is constituted from the three manuscripts described below, which are the only ones available.

B: This Ms. belongs to the Oriental Institute, Baroda (No. 11372). It is written on paper and contains 48 leaves (= 96 pages). Each page has 10 or 11 lines and each line 40 to 45 letters. It is written in Devanāgarī and the hand-writing is uniform and fairly beautiful. The Ms. is slightly injured towards the end. The number of "granthas" is stated to be 1400. The Ms. contains details of the number of stanzas etc. in each *parvan* as given by the commentator. It is cited in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute as Cd. The Ms. is undated.

b: This is another Devanāgarī Ms. of the commentary belonging to the Oriental Institute, Baroda (No. 12928). It is written on paper and contains 47 leaves. It is damaged considerably; leaves 4 and 5 are torn, and leaves 1, 2, 11 to 19, and 21 to 23 are missing. Only 33 leaves are thus available. The hand-writing is uniform and beautiful. The number of "granthas" is 1000. It is a dated Ms.; the colophon at the end reads:

इति परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यभट्टारकश्रीमदेवबोधविरचितायां भारते आदिपर्वणि  
ज्ञानदीपिकायां आदिपर्व समाप्तम् । शुभनस्तु ॥ संवत् १६४१ समये प्रथम आषाढ  
सुदि प्रतिपदा शनौ ॥

The date corresponds with Saturday, 28th June 1584. This Ms. is thus nearly 360 years old.

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1 The commentary itself affords no clue to the date and identity of the author. There are several writers of the name Devabodha, Devasvāmin, Devabodhi etc., but for want of evidence it is not, at present, possible to connect them with each other. This question must therefore await further investigation.

C : This is a Ms. in the Government collection under the care of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta ( No. 3397 : Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. V, p. 150 ). It measures 12" x 5" and is written on old Indian paper. It contains 54 leaves, and each page has 9 lines. The extent of this Ms. is 1075 "granthas". The script is Nāgara of the early eighteenth century. Most of the leaves of the Ms. are discoloured.

Colophon :—

इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यभट्टारकश्रीमत्सत्यबोधशिष्यस्य परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीदेवबोध[स्य] कृतौ महाभारततात्पर्यटीकायां ज्ञानदीपिकायामादिषुर्व समाप्तम् ।

( 3 ) A comparison of these Mss. shows that Ms. B preserves the text in the completest and the least corrupt form. Ms. b appears to be merely a copy of B, with only a few changes here and there. There are not many scribal errors in these two Baroda Mss. Ms. C is obviously late ( 18th century ? ) and contains many corrupt readings and passages. It further contains many marginal notes in Śāradā script. In such places where the readings of all Mss. were corrupt, I was able to fix up the text by a reference to the commentary of Arjunamiśra, who often quotes profusely from Deva-bodha's commentary.

The Mss. often exhibit carelessness regarding the Saṁdhi rules. In the constituted text Saṁdhi has therefore been restored and normalized. In a few cases, however, the words are written without Saṁdhi in order to facilitate the understanding of the text. My guiding principle in this matter has always been clarity. The Mss. do not further give adhyāya and śloka numbers. I have therefore adopted in this text numbers from the Critical Edition of the Mbh. published by B. O. R. I. Within the adhyāya I have divided the text into paragraphs according to sections. Complete lines or verses from the text are given in separate lines. The *pratīkas* are printed in black type. Quotations in the text have been traced back to their original sources wherever possible, which are cited in the footnotes.

( 4 ) The text of the commentary was first transcribed from Ms. C by Mr. B. G. BHIDE Shastri, collator in the Mahābhārata

Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, and was subsequently compared with the original and collated with other Mss. by me. I am responsible for finally constituting the text as presented here. My grateful thanks are due to Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR for his kind help and advice throughout the preparation of this work. I have also to thank the authorities of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, and the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, for the loan of the Mss. in their possession.

Bhandarkar Oriental  
Research Institute,  
Poona  
September 1941

R. N. Dandekar

## महाभारते आदिपर्व

### श्रीवेवबोधकृतमहाभारततात्पर्यटीका ज्ञानदीपिका

ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥ श्रीगणपतये नमः ॥  
तिर्यग्वान्ति यदाङ्घ्रयैव मरुतो यस्याङ्घ्रया भास्करैः  
प्रागस्ताद्रिगतागतैरहरहः खिन्नो न विश्राम्यति ।  
प्रङ्गाज्योतिरुपास्यते त्रिभुवने यस्य त्रिवेदीमयं  
तत्तेजः कथमप्यमेयविभवं नारायणीयं नमः ॥ १ ॥  
देयादङ्घ्रिः शुभानि त्रिपदपरिमितक्षोणिखण्डार्थिनो व-  
स्ताद्वक्त्राकाम्यहेलाहठ(?)हसितविपद्वैभवो विश्वभर्तुः ।  
मेदिन्यामन्तराले भुवनपतिपुरे यौगपद्येन दृष्टे  
यस्मिंश्चन्द्रार्कतारप्रकर इव सूरैः कौमुभो विप्रकीर्णः ॥२॥  
दिनरजनिविभागं वर्तयन्वामदेवः  
खरतुहिनकराम्यां लोचनाभ्यां क्रमेण ।  
वलयफणिफणास्रभ्रान्तभूमण्डलो वः  
शिशिरकरकिशोरस्मेरमूर्ध्ना पुनातु ॥ ३ ॥  
दग्धस्यक्षतृतीयलोचनशिखिज्वालाकलापोल्कया  
गौरीलोचनताण्डवैः पुनरयं पुष्पायुधः प्रीणिति ।  
इत्यन्योन्यजिगीषया मनसिजप्राणैर्मुहुः क्रीडतोः  
पायाद्वः शिवयोः स कोऽपि महिमा रोषस्य रागस्य वा ॥४॥  
वाणीमर्थमुचं नमो नवरसासारैर्जगत्सिञ्चतीं  
यामासाद्य रसप्लुर्तानि सुवते वस्तूनि वस्वन्तरम् ।

१ C भारतः. २ B कथमप्रमेयविभवं. ३ B om from ताद्वक्त्राकाम्य° up to °भूमण्डलो  
वः ( in stanza 3 ). ४ C शिशिरकरकिशोर°. B °करकिशोरस्यैकमुर्ध्ना. ५ B om  
from °शिखिज्वाला up to गौरीलोचन°. ६ C प्रीणति. ७ C वाणीम्...त. ८ C रसप्रमाणि(?).  
९ B को...न्तरम्.



यस्यामुत्पुलका भवन्ति दशदश्वेतन्ति निश्वेतसो  
 भावाभावविपर्ययैः सदसती यत्रार्पिते नृत्यतः ॥५॥  
 अनन्यानन्दनिस्स्यन्दसन्मात्रास्वादननिर्घृतम् ।  
 मोहार्णवमहोपोतं कृष्णद्वैपायनं नमः ॥६॥  
 न दृष्ट ईति वैयासे शब्दे मा संशयं कृथाः ।  
 अज्ञैरज्ञातमित्येवं पदं न हि न विद्यते ॥७॥  
 यान्युज्जहार माहेन्द्राद्यासो व्याकरणार्णवात् ।  
 शब्दरत्नानि किं तानि सन्ति पाणिनिगोष्पदे ॥८॥  
 मोहान्धतमसाच्छन्नसन्मार्गप्रतिपत्तये ।  
 निर्मिता देवबोधेन ध्रियतां ज्ञानदीपिकां ॥९॥

[ १ ]

पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयसाधनस्य ब्रह्महत्यादिमहापातकप्रायश्चित्तस्य महाभारता-  
 ध्ययनस्याङ्गं विदधाति नारायणं इति । नारायणं परमात्मानं पुराणेषु तथा-  
 प्रसिद्धेः । यदाह

नारायणः परोऽव्यक्तादण्डमव्यक्तसंभवम् ।\*

इति । नरं जीवात्मानं शरीरेन्द्रियविषयोपनीतर्या वेदनया न रमते इति व्युत्पत्त्या ।  
 चैवशब्दो नवाशब्दवद् अखण्डः समुच्चये । नरोत्तमं इति द्वयोर्विशेषणम् । नरेभ्यो  
 जीवेभ्य उत्तमो नारायणः सदाभ्युत्तमात् । नरश्चासावुत्तमश्च जीवो नरत्वयुक्त-  
 व्युत्पत्त्या उत्तमत्वं परमात्मतादात्म्यम् । तावेतौ देवौ भारतप्रतिपाद्यतया नमस्कृत्य  
 तद्वाचिकां वाणीं नमस्कुरुते सरस्वती इति । देवी इति नदीव्यावृत्त्यर्थं विशेषणम् ।  
 जीवात्मपरमात्मानौ नरनारायणमुनिरूपेणावन्तीणौ तावप्यत्र नमस्कार्यौ गुरुत्वं-

१ B यस्यामुत्पुलकाद्. C यस्यामुत्पन्नकार्यं. २ C महार्णव°. ३ C स दृष्टमिति. ४ C  
 प्राज्ञैरज्ञात°. ५ C तानि किं पदरत्नानि. ६ C °षण्मार्गप्रतिपत्तये. ७ After this C ins :

मीमांस...यद्भारतासनतमोतत्त्वप्रतिष्ठातमः

षट्कर्कसपद्मासनानि रसवाग्वाग्बद्धवृद्धादरः ।

वेदान्ताः पुरुषोपदेशगुरवः स्वस्वस्थितिप्राप्तौ

साहाय्याय जयेतिहासविबृत्तौ सर्वत्र वः प्रार्थये ॥

< B शरीरेन्द्रियोपनीतया. ९ C नरत्वप्रयुक्तव्युत्पत्त्या. १० C धृतिरूपिणौ अवन्तीणौ. ११ C  
 उरत्वाद्.

\* Manusmṛti I. 10.

त्वात् । नरनारायणमुनी कृष्णार्जुनरूपेणावतीर्णौ तावप्यत्र नमस्कार्यौ शास्त्रप्रति-  
पाद्यत्वात् । तावेतौ नरनारायणशब्दौ सकृदुच्चारितौ त्रितयं त्रितयं प्रतिपादयत  
इति तन्त्रेणैव नमस्कारत्रयमनुष्ठितं भवति । ॐ नमो नारायणाय इति परमात्ममुनि-  
कृष्णानां नमस्कारः । ॐ नमो नराय इति जीवात्मनरार्जुनानां नमस्कारः । ॐ नमः  
सरस्वत्यै इति तु एकस्या वाण्या नमस्कारः । तदिदं नमस्कारत्रयं भारताध्ययन-  
स्यावश्यकमङ्गं प्रणव इव वेदाध्ययनस्य अन्यथा पुण्यहेतुत्वाभावात् । यदाह—

क्षरत्यनेन कृतं ब्रह्म परस्ताच्च विशीर्यते ।\*

इति । नमस्कृत्य इति अल्पसामर्थ्यादेव पूर्वकालभाविनो नमस्कारस्य करणत्वे  
सिद्धे ततः इति पञ्चम्या करणत्वाभिधानं करणत्वातिशयत्वप्रतिपादनार्थम् । जयः  
पौराणिकानां रूढ्या भारतमुच्यते । स्वपक्षस्थापनया परपक्षप्रत्याख्यानं जयः  
इति योगः । इह च धर्मार्थकाममोक्षस्थापनया अधर्मानर्थकामबन्धानां तत्प्रति-  
पक्षाणां प्रत्याख्यानमिति योगोऽपि प्रतीयमानो न हातुमर्हति । अथ वा ब्रह्म-  
हत्यादि पञ्चमहापातकभङ्गहेतुत्वाद् भारताध्ययनस्य भारतं जय उच्यते । भारतं  
कृत्वैव तदध्ययनाङ्गविधानस्य ज्ञाने चायमभिप्रायः । पूर्वसृष्टिर्गतं भारतं स्मर्तव्यं  
मया न तु कर्तव्यमिति । अत एव भारतकर्तुरत्र नमस्कारो न दृश्यते । आद्यं  
पुरुषं (२०) इत्यादिस्तु नमस्कारः कथावतारयितुर्न कर्तुः । अस्य शास्त्रस्य प्रेक्षा-  
वत् प्रवृत्त्यङ्गविषयसंबन्धप्रयोजनानि जयसंज्ञात उपलभ्यन्ते । तथा हि धर्मार्थ-  
काममोक्षाणां प्रतिपक्षप्रत्याख्यानेन व्यवस्थापककथाप्रस्तावकत्वात् शास्त्रं जयः ।  
अत एवाधिकारिभेदात् प्रयोजनभेदाच्च शास्त्रभेदः । धर्मार्थिनं प्रति सोपायो  
धर्मोऽर्थकाममोक्षफलः । धर्मार्थिनं प्रति सोपायोऽर्थो धर्मकाममोक्षफलः । कामार्थिनं  
प्रति सोपायः कामो मोक्षविविक्तो धर्मार्थफलभूतः । मोक्षार्थिनं प्रति धर्मार्थहेतुकः  
कामाद् विविक्तो मोक्षः प्रतिपाद्यते इति चतुःशास्त्री । यदाह

धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ ।†

इत्यलमतिविस्तरेण ॥

† Mss नमस्कारत्रयत्रयं (?). C अनुष्ठानं. २ C ०ध्ययनाङ्गं विधानस्य. ३ Mss सर्वसृष्टिगतं.

४ C व्यवस्थापयच्छास्त्रं जयः.

\* Cf. Manusmṛiti, II. 74.

† Ed. I. 56. 33

( १-१३ ) मुनिः कथामवतारयिष्यन् कथाप्रस्तावकस्य कथाश्रोतॄणां चाधिकारविशेषणानि लोमहर्षणपुत्रः इत्यादिना किमहं ब्रवीमि इत्यन्तेन प्रतिपादयति ॥ ( १ ) पृथुनाम्नो राज्ञो यज्ञे शातक्रतवीयहविःसंस्काराद् उत्पन्नं पश्यतां मुनीनामतिविस्मयाद् रोमाञ्चं उत्पादितवान् इति लोमहर्षणनामाभूत् । तस्य पुत्रः । उग्रे सुतेजसी श्रवसी श्रवणे यस्य । तेजश्च पुराणश्रवणजनितं पुण्यम् । सूतः ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविपरीतसंस्कारकरणार्त् । पौराणिकः पुराणं वेत्त्यधीते वा इति । एतेन कथातत्त्वज्ञत्वमुक्तम् । कुलपतिः कुलपालनात् । सत्रे यज्ञे ॥ ( २ ) संश्रितं तीव्रं व्रतं येषाम् । विनयः उचितकारिता । अवनतत्वं प्रह्वत्वम् ॥ ( ३ ) परिवन्नुः वेष्टितवन्तः । अनेन गुरुशिष्ययोर्मेलक उक्तः ॥ ( ५ ) निर्दिष्टं कथितमिहोपविश इति ॥ ( ६ ) सुखासनिम् इति प्रश्रयोग्यतामाह । विश्रान्तं इति अव्याकुलताम् । प्राप्तवयाः वृद्धः ॥ ( ७ ) विहृतः अतिवाहितः ॥ ( १० ) श्रुत्वाहं इति ज्ञानस्य गुरुपूर्वकतामाहं ॥ ( १३ ) स्वस्थाः इति श्रवणयोग्यताम् ॥

( १४-१९ ) पुराणमिश्रिताः इत्यादिना सूत उवाच इत्यन्तेन अवतारणीयस्याख्यानस्य महाजनपरिग्रहादिर्ना हेतुना महिमानमाह ॥ ( १४ ) कथा वा धर्मसंज्ञिताः । वा इति विकल्पः ॥ ( १५ ) अभिपूजितं इति महाजनपरिग्रहमाह ॥ ( १६ ) अस्याख्यानवरिष्ठस्य इति महत्त्वं श्रेयस्त्वं च । कथाः कथयतः धर्मसंज्ञिताश्चेति विशेषः प्रश्नः । पदवैचित्र्यं व्याकरणसंस्कारात् । पर्ववैचित्र्यं अवान्तरार्थवैचित्र्यात् । अर्थः वाच्यो गम्यश्च । न्यायः युक्तिस्तर्कः । तौ सूक्ष्मौ सूक्ष्मबुद्धिवेद्यौ यस्य ॥ ( १७ ) पुण्यौ ग्रन्थाथौ श्रुतमात्रस्य ज्ञातमात्रस्य च पुण्यहेतुत्वात् । संस्कारोपगतां पुराणसंप्रदायवतीम् । नानाशास्त्रोपबृंहितां न्यायमीमांसादिभिरनुगृहीताम् ॥

( १८ ) जनमेजयस्य यज्ञे 'यां' वैशंपायन उक्तवान् ।

१ b om कथाप्रस्तावकस्य. २ C लोमहर्षण इत्यादिना. ३ b सौमेहालिशातक्रतव्यबाह्वस्यतीय-  
हविः° C शातत्रतुरीयहविः°. ४ b कोशाश्च (?). ५ B b कर्णौ. ६ C °संस्कारात्कारणात्.  
७ B b कथातत्त्वज्ञानमुक्तम्. C °तत्त्वज्ञमुक्तम्. ८ C om तीव्रं. ९ Ed. प्रस्तावयम्. १०  
b ज्ञानस्य गुरु°. C गुरुपूर्वकालताम्. ११ Ed पुराणसंश्रिताः. १२ b परिग्रहादिना ( for  
महाजन°). १३ C om from कथा वा up to महाजनपरिग्रहमाह. १४ Ed धर्मसंज्ञिताः.  
१५ b अतिपूजितं. १६ C तौ सूक्ष्मौ सूक्ष्मायौ. १७ Ed पुण्यां. १८ Ed यां राज्ञो (for यज्ञे यां).

इति महत्यां सभायां महापुरुषेण कथिताम् ॥ (१९) वेदैश्चतुर्भिः समितां  
इति वेदतुल्यत्वम् । व्यासस्याद्भुतकर्मणः इति कर्मगौरवम् । संहितां इति  
द्वितीयविकल्पपरिग्रहः । पुण्यां पुण्यहेतुत्वात् । पापभयापह्नां पापक्षयहेतुत्वात् ॥

( २०—२२ ) कथामवतारयितुमिष्टदेवतानमस्कारेण मङ्गलमाचरति आद्यं  
इत्यादिना हरिं इत्यन्तेन ॥ ( २० ) उत्पत्तेः प्राक्काल आदिः । तत्र भवः  
आद्यः । सर्वोत्पत्तिमतां कारणं परमात्मानम् इति यावत् । पुरुषं पुरि शरीरे शय-  
नात् जीवात्मानम् इति यावत् । ईशानं अनभिहतेच्छम् । पुरुभिः बहुभिः हूतं  
आवाहितं यज्ञेषु । पुरुभिः बहुभिः ब्रह्मेन्द्ररुद्रादिभिः सामवेदादिना स्तुतम् ।  
ऋतं सत्यम् । एकं अद्वितीयम् । अक्षरं अविनाशि । अथ वा एकं अक्षरं वाचकं  
ऋतसद् इति रूपं यस्य । यदाह

ऋतसदिति निर्देशो ब्रह्मणस्त्रिविधः स्मृतः ।\*

ब्रह्म व्यापकत्वात् । व्यक्तं शान्तघोरमूढतया दृश्यत्वात् । अव्यक्तं अदृश्य-  
त्वात् । सनातनं नित्यम् ॥ ( २१ ) असच्च अभावरूपतया । विश्वं सर्वम् ।  
सदसतः परं भावाभावातिक्रान्तम् । परावराणां स्रष्टारं पराणां ब्रह्मादीनां  
अवराणां कीटकादीनां स्रष्टारम् । पुराणं पुरापि नवम् । परं प्रकृष्टम् । अव्ययं  
न व्येति इति । अथ वा अव्ययमिवाव्ययम् ।

सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वास्तु च विभक्तिषु ।

वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यत्र व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥\*\*

( २२ ) मङ्गलं शुभम् तदावहं मङ्गल्यम् । विष्णुं व्यापकम् । वरेण्यं वरणाहम् ।  
अनघं निष्पापम् । शिवं<sup>१</sup> कल्याणम् । अथ वा शिवं महेश्वरम् । नमस्कृत्य  
प्रह्वेण वचसा विषयीकृतम् । हृषीकं विषयसंबद्धमिन्द्रियम् । तस्य ईशम् ।  
चराचरगुरुं जङ्गमस्थावरप्रभुम् । हरिं भक्तानां पापहर्तारम् ॥

१ b संहितां. BC संमितां. २ Ed. धर्म्यो. ३ b om from पापभयां up to °हेतुत्वात्.  
४ C नमस्कारे आचरति. ५ After 'this C ins पुरुषश्चो बहुवाची. ६ C om अव्यक्तं  
अदृश्यत्वात्. ७ C मा व्ययतीति. ८ b मनुष्येव (?). ९ C पालकम्. १० Ed शुर्वि ( for  
शिवं). ११ C जङ्गमस्थावरगुरुम्.

\* Bhagavadgītā VIII. 13. \*\* Pātañjala Mahābhāṣya I. 1. 37.

( २३—२६ ) महर्षेः इत्यादिना विबुधांप्रियं इत्यन्तेन भारेतं स्तौति ॥  
 ( २३ ) महर्षेः इति कर्तृगौरवात् ॥ ( २४ ) आचख्युः इति व्याख्यातृ-  
 गौरवात् ॥ ( २५ ) त्रिषु लोकेषु इति सर्वत्र प्रचारात् । यदाह

नारदोऽश्रावयद्देवानसितो देवलः पितृन् ।

गन्धर्वयक्षरक्षांसि श्रावयामास वै शुक्रः ॥\*

इति । ज्ञायतेऽनेनेति ज्ञानम् । विस्तरेण लक्षसंख्यया । समासैः सार्धद्विशता-  
 दिसंख्यया ॥ ( २६ ) शुभैः श्रवणमात्रेण मङ्गलोत्पादकैः । समयैः आचारैः ।  
 छन्दसा गायत्र्यादिना । वृत्तेन तनुमध्यादिना । विबुधांप्रियं देवपण्डितयोः प्रियम् ॥

( २७—४९ ) निष्प्रभेऽस्मिन् इत्यादिना संक्षेपतोऽब्रवीत् इत्यन्तेन  
 कार्यकारणभावेन पिण्डीकृत्य शास्त्रार्थं संक्षेपेण प्रतिपादयति ॥ ( २७ )  
 निष्प्रभे तेजःप्रभाशून्ये । निरालोके इन्द्रियज्ञानालोकशून्ये । तमसा तमोगुणेन  
 आवृते । एतेन सर्वप्रमाणाभावमाह । बृहत् महत् । अण्डमिव अण्डं सादृश्यमुत्पत्ति-  
 हेतुत्वम् । एकं जीवभेदेऽपि प्रतिजीवमभिद्यमानम् । प्रजानां स्थावरजङ्गमानाम् ।  
 बीजं उपादानकारणम् । अक्षयं अविनाशि ॥ ( २८ ) गुगस्य सृष्टेः । आदौ  
 प्रथमतः । निमित्तं कर्तृतया कारणम् । तदेव च महत्तत्त्वमिति सांख्याः । दिव्यं  
 दिवि द्योतनात्मके परमात्मनि भवं इत्यागमिनः प्रचक्षते । यस्मिन् अण्डेऽधिष्ठातृ-  
 तया । श्रूयते वेदे । ज्योतिः चैतन्यम् ॥ ( २९ ) अद्भुतं तन्मध्यगतमपि  
 तद्गुणदोषैरस्पृष्टम् । अचिन्त्यं कथमेवमिति परामर्शातीतम् । सर्वत्र समतां गतं  
 ब्रह्माणि कृमौ च निर्विशेषम् ॥ ( ३० ) पितामहः हिरण्यगर्भः । तस्य विशेष-  
 णाणि प्रभुः एकः प्रजापतिः ब्रह्मा सुरगुरुः इति । प्रभुः ईश्वरः । एकः  
 तत्समाभावात् । प्रजापतिः प्रजोत्पादनात् । ब्रह्मा ब्रह्मशब्दवाच्यस्य वेदस्य  
 विस्तारणात् । सुराणां गुरुः हितोपदेशात् । स्थाणुः रुद्रः । मनुः प्रसिद्धः ।  
 तस्य विशेषणं परमेश्वरः प्रजापतित्वात् ॥ ( ३१ ) प्रचेर्तसः इति बहुवचनं  
 दक्षसंख्याकत्वात् । दक्षपुत्राः सप्त ।

१ Ed विबुधां प्रियं. २ C आख्यानं. ३ B om इति. ४ Ed विस्तरेः. ५ C ब्रह्म  
 शब्दवाच्यस्य विस्तारणां. ६ After this C ins कः वसिष्ठः. ७ Ed परमेष्ठय. ८ Ed  
 प्राचेतसः.

\* Ed. I. 1. 64.

क्रोधस्तपो दमश्चैव विक्रान्तोऽयाङ्गिरास्तथा ।  
कर्दमोऽश्वश्च सप्तैते पुत्रा दक्षस्य कीर्तिताः ॥

एकविंशतिः यथा ।

ब्रह्मा स्थाणुर्मनुर्दक्षो मृगुधर्मस्तपो दमः ।  
मरीचिरङ्गिराश्चात्रिः पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः ॥  
वसिष्ठः परमेष्ठी च विवस्वान्सोम एव च ।  
कर्दमश्चापि यः प्रोक्तः शुक्रो विक्रान्त एव च ।  
एकविंशतिरुत्पन्नाः प्राक्प्रजापतयः स्मृताः ॥

( ३२ ) पुरुषः विराट् । विश्वेदेवाः गणाविशेषः ॥ ( ३६ ) पुनः संक्षिपति ।  
यदिदं इति । दृशिः अयमुपलब्धिवचनः । प्रत्यक्षादिना यावदुपलब्धं तावदुत्पद्यते  
संक्षिप्यते चेति ॥ ( ३७ ) संहतस्यापि पुनरुत्पत्तिरिति दृष्टान्तेन बोधयति  
यथर्तौ इति । अयं संबन्धः । ऋतुलिङ्गानि परमृतरुतमलयपवनकुसुमो-  
द्गमादीनि ऋतौ दृश्यन्ते यानि यान्येव तानि तान्येव पर्यन्यप्रत्यावृत्त्या  
पुनरागमने दृश्यन्ते । एतेन मध्ये विनष्टानां प्रत्यभिज्ञा तद्रूपतासिद्धिरित्युक्तं दार्ष्टा-  
न्तिके योजयति । तथा भावा युगादिषु अतीते युगे ये दृष्टाः संप्रति युगादौ  
ते एव दृश्यन्ते इति ॥ ( ३८ ) दृष्टान्तदार्ष्टान्तिकाभ्यां सिद्धमर्थमुपसंहरति  
एवमेतद् इति । अनाद्यन्तं अपरिज्ञायमानादिभावान्तभावं इदं प्रथमताया  
इदमन्ततायाश्च दुरधिगमत्वात् । भूतं च संहारः च तयोः कारकम् । अनादि-  
निधनं उत्पत्तिविनाशरहितं । चक्रं सृष्टिसंहारचक्रं ॥ ( ४० ) कथापुरुषाणां  
वंशमवतारयति दिवःपुत्रं इति । घौर्धुलोकाधिष्ठात्री देवता अदितिर्वा । बृहद्भानु-  
प्रभृतयो रव्यन्ताः तस्या द्वादश पुत्राः ॥ ( ४१ ) पुरां पूर्वम् । विवस्वतः  
विवस्वन्तः छन्दोभङ्गभयाद् विन्दुलोपः । त्रयोदशस्तेषां सङ्ख्यानामा । अवरः कनी-  
यान् ॥ ( ४६ ) भूतस्थानानि भुवनानि । रहस्यं त्रिविधं शुभाशुभकर्म-  
फलमेकं भुवनानां प्रभवो द्वितीयं व्ययश्च तृतीयम् । यदाह ।

१ B कर्दमोऽश्वश्च. २ After this C ins आपो द्यौरित्यादिक्रमात्. ३ Ed संक्षिप्यते.  
४ Ed विषसुत्रः. ५ Ed पुत्राः. ६ Ed मह्यः. ७ C om from रहस्यं त्रिविधं up to  
व्ययश्चैव. ८ b शुभाशुभकर्मफलामेकं.

शुभानामशुभानां च कर्मणां च फलोदयः ।

प्रभवश्च व्ययश्चैव रहस्यं त्रिविधं स्मृतम् ॥

इति । योगो योगशास्त्रम् । सविज्ञानः ससांख्यः । विज्ञायतेऽनेनेति विज्ञानं सांख्यशास्त्रम् ॥ ( ४८ ) व्याख्यैव वैयाख्यम् ॥ संक्षेपे हेतुमाह ॥

( ५० ) किमादि भारतमित्याह मन्वादि इति । मनुः आदिराजः । आस्तीको जरत्कारुषुतः । उपरिचरो वसुविशेषः । तच्चरितप्रस्तावनादि भारतमिति मुनीनां मतभेदः ॥ ( ५२ ) तपसा विहितेन कायसंतापेन कर्मणा । ब्रह्मणो वेदस्य चर्येण व्रतेन । व्यस्य सहस्रसंहितारूपेण विभिद्य इतिहासमिमं चक्रे । तुल्यतर्यो वेदव्यसनस्य इतिहासकरणे हेतुमाह । तेन वेदार्थ एष अस्मिन्नितिहासे प्रतिपत्तिच्छाघवार्थं निबद्ध इत्युक्तं भवति ॥ ( ५३ ) कथापुरुषाणां मुख्यानामुत्पत्तिक्रममाह मातुर्नियोगाद् इति । मातुर्नियोगात् सत्यवत्याङ्गया ॥ ( ५४ ) क्षेत्रे दारेषु अम्बिकायाम् ॥ ( ५७ ) अन्तिके समीपे ॥ ( ५८ ) सदस्याः सभ्याः । कर्मान्तरे कर्मावकाशे ॥ ( ५९ ) धर्मशीलता धर्मे नैसर्गिकी प्रवृत्तिः । क्षत्तुः विदुरस्य । प्रज्ञां ऊहापोहौ । उद्धूतेन तमसो अवसन्नानां बाह्मनःकायानां अवष्टम्भहेतुर्मानसो धर्मो धृतिः ॥ ( ६० ) माहात्म्यं महाशयता । सत्यं यथार्थज्ञानं सर्वभूतानुपघातके वाङ्मनसी । तद्योगात्पाण्डवाः सत्याः । सत्यस्य भावः सत्यता सत्यमेव । वृत्तं आचारः ॥ ( ६३ ) अभिरूपाः पण्डिताः ॥

( ६५—६६ ) कथानायकप्रतिनायकयोर्युधिष्ठिरदुर्योधनयोर्यजपराजयकीजं

१ C मतम्. २ C श्रुतेन ( for व्रतेन ). ३ After इतिहासमिमं चक्रे, B b ins the following passage ( cf. 29\* ) :—

षट्त्रिंशतसहस्राणि१ चकारान्यां स संहिताम् ।

त्रिंशत्युत सहस्रं२ तु देवलोके प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

विन्धे पञ्चदश प्रोक्तं यक्षलोके३ चतुर्दश ।

एकं शतसहस्रं तु मातुषेष्ठु प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ इति.

1. Ed षष्टिं शतसहस्राणि ( for षट्त्रिंशत° ). 2. Ed त्रिंशच्छतसहस्रं च. 3. Ed. रक्षो यक्षे. ४ C om तुल्यतया. ५ b मनसा ( for तमसा ). ६ Ed अश्रुरूपेभ्यः.

धर्माधर्ममयत्वं श्लोकाभ्यां संक्षिपति । तत्र पूर्वपक्षस्य प्रथमभावित्वात्प्रतिनायकं तावदाह ( ६५ ) दुर्योधन इति । मन्युमयः क्रोधप्रचुरः । क्रोधेन च क्रियते कार्यते परेण कृतमनुमोद्यते पापमिति कारणे कार्योपचारात् मन्युः पापम् ॥

( ६६ ) ' ब्रह्म वेदा ब्रह्म तपो ब्रह्म ज्ञानं च शाश्वतम् । '

तेन त्रयमपि मूलमिति ॥

( ६७ ) युधा संप्रहारेण । विक्रमणेन प्रतापेन ॥ ( ६८ ) मृगरूपस्य मुनेः व्यवयो मैथुनं तस्मिन् निधनम् । कृच्छ्रां कष्टं प्राप आपदम् । तत्र अरण्ये । पार्थानां पृथापुत्राणाम् । आचारः सदाचारः । तस्य विधिः अज्ञातस्य ज्ञापनं । तस्य क्रमः अभ्यासक्रमः ॥ ( ६९ ) मात्रोः कुन्तीमाद्योः । धर्मोपनिषदं धर्मरहस्यं प्रति । अभ्युपपत्तिः सर्वात्मना प्रवृत्तिः । धर्मोपनिषत्संबन्धिनो दर्शयति धर्मस्य इति ॥ ( ७० ) तापसैः इत्यादिना हेत्वभिधानम् ॥ ( ७१ ) ऋषिभिः स्वयं आनीताः । तत् तस्मात् । यद् यस्मात् ॥ शिशवः इत्यनुकम्पनीयत्वम् । अभिरूपाः पाण्डित्येनात्मगुणेन च । जटिलाः व्रतचर्या । ब्रह्मचारिणः प्रथमाश्रमिणः ॥ ( ७२ ) पुत्राश्च भ्रातरश्चमे धृतराष्ट्रदुर्योधनादीनाम् । शिष्याश्च द्रोणादीनाम् । सुहृदः सवयसाम् । पाण्डवाः पाण्डोरपत्यानि । एते इति प्रत्यक्षेणोपदर्शनम् । अन्तर्हिताः इति समर्पकाणां मुनीनां योगप्रभावातिशयख्यापनम् ॥ ( ७३ ) शिष्टाः अभिहोत्राद्यनुष्ठायिनः । वर्णाः ब्राह्मणादयः । पौराः पुरवासिनः । चुक्रुशुः एत एत पश्यत पश्यत पाण्डवान् इति ॥ ( ७६ ) संदेहाकुलानां जनानां संदेहच्छेदार्थं पाण्डवं प्रवेशकाले दिव्यमद्भुतं दर्शयति तस्मिन् इति ॥ ( ७९ ) न कुतोऽपि भयं येषां ते अकुतोभयाः ॥ ( ८० ) शौचं संकरवर्जनम् । धृतिः अवष्टम्भः । विक्रमः प्रतापः ॥ ( ८१ ) शुश्रूषा आराधनम् । क्षान्तिः परकृते अपकारे प्रतीकारबुद्धेरनुत्पादः । विनयः ज्येष्ठकनिष्ठेषु यथोचितानुष्ठानम् ॥ ( ८२ ) समवाये मेलके । भर्ता स्वयं वृत्तो वरो यया सा ॥ ( ८४ ) गणान्

१ C क्लिष्टां ( for कष्टां ). २ B b यदापदम् . ३ b ज्ञानं ( for ज्ञापनं ). ४ Ed च ( for यद् ). ५ After this Mss ins तापसैरित्यादिना हेत्वभिधानम् . ६ C संदेहाकुलानां संदेहव्यवच्छेदार्थं . ७ Ed has कुन्या ( not क्षान्त्या ). ८ C अपराधे . ९ b ज्येष्ठसमकनिष्ठे .

\* Anushtubh stanza, perhaps a quotation.



श्रेणीः ॥ (८७) अर्हणानि उपायनानि ॥ (८८) ईर्ष्या परोत्कर्षा-  
सहिष्णुत्वम् । मन्युः क्रोधः ॥ (८९) विमानं संचारि देवसदनम् । प्रतिमा  
सदृशी ॥ (९०) अवहसितः अवज्ञाय हसितः । प्रस्कन्दनं स्खलनम् ।  
अनभिजातवत् अपरिचितवद् अकुलीनवद् वा ॥ (९१) भोगापेक्षया  
भुञ्जन् अभ्यवहरन् । रत्नापेक्षया धारयन् । भुञ्जन्निता काकाक्षिवद् उभाभ्यां  
संबध्यते । विवर्णः सहजवर्णाच्च्युतः । हरिणः पाण्डुरः । कृशः तनुः ॥ (९२)  
कोपः क्रोधः ॥ (९३) नातिप्रतिमनाः कृत्रिमविवादस्य दुष्टक्षयनिमित्त-  
युद्धबीजत्वाद् अनुमोदनम् । उपेक्षा विधिनिषेधमध्यस्थता ॥ (९४) निरस्य  
अनादृत्य ॥ (९५) जयत्सु पाण्डुपुत्रेषु सत्सु । सुमहदप्रियम् इदमेव  
श्रुत्वा दुर्योधनमतं च ज्ञात्वा अब्रवीत् इति संबन्धः ॥ (९६) अस्त्रया  
दोषारोपो गुणेष्वपि । मेधावी धारणावान् । बुद्धिमान् ग्रहणसमर्थः । प्राज्ञ-  
संसतः ऊहापोहसमर्थः ॥ (९८) कार्पण्यात् दैन्यात् ॥ (१०२) पश्यतां  
इत्यनादरे षष्ठी ॥ (१०३) माधवीं मधुजातिकाम् ॥ (१०४) प्रवृष्टं  
कृतवर्षम् ॥ (१०५) अक्षवती द्यूतसभा । अन्वागतं अनुगतम् ॥  
(१०७) विविधाः चेष्टाः बाणवृष्टिसूचकवालुकाविक्षेपादिकाः ॥ (११०)  
संशितं तीक्ष्णम् । सत्यसंधं<sup>१</sup> अवन्ध्यप्रतिज्ञम् ॥ (११३) विब्रुवन्तं विशेषेण  
ब्रुवन्तम् ॥ (११५) मत्स्यराज्ञा इति समासान्तविधेरनित्यत्वात् ॥ (११८)  
माधवं लक्ष्मीपतित्वात् । वासुदेवं सर्वभूतावासत्वात् । गां पृथ्वीम् ॥ (११९)  
निग्रहः बन्धनम् । बहुधा विश्वरूपाकारेण ॥ (१२३) तौ इति तच्छब्दो  
वासुदेवार्जुनयोस्तत्तदद्भुतकर्मसमर्थतां स्मारयति तदिदं पदस्थं काव्यम् ॥  
(१२४) लोकान् दर्शयानं शरीरे विश्वरूपाकारेण विवर्तमानम् ॥ (१२६)  
दृश्यरूपः प्रधानभूतः ॥ (१२९) अनुलोमाः अनुलोमगतयः । तत्र वाम-  
दक्षिणपश्चाद्बो वायुः प्रयातुरनुकूलः । तथा च ।

ईष्टो वीमं प्रविशतो दक्षिणः प्रविविक्षतः ।

पश्चात्संसाधयत्यर्थं पुरस्तात्प्रतिषेधकः ॥

१ b प्रतिमाः सदृशाः . २ C प्रस्खलनम् . ३ C om from भुञ्जन् up to धारयन् .  
४ b वणपेक्षया पालयन् . ५ C गुणसमर्थः . ६ Ed संशितं . ७ C om from सत्यसंधं  
up to सर्वभूतावासत्वात् . ८ B b om from तौ इति up to शरीरे विश्वरूपाकारेण . ९ C  
वर्तमानम् . १० Ed अनुलोमो . ११ B b दृष्टो . १२ C वायुः .

इति । शक्रादिष्टस्य मेघस्यानुकूलत्वात् शक्रः अनुकूलः । युक्तौ संयुक्तौ । पृष्ठ-  
देशे अस्मान् व्याभषन्तं अस्माकं विरुद्धानि निमित्तान्याभषन्त अकथयन् ॥  
( १३३ ) यदाभिर्मन्युं इत्यत्र परिवरणबालत्वहृष्टरूपत्वादीनि अभिमन्यो-  
स्तेजोतिशयं ध्वनन्ति ॥ ( १३४ ) क्रोधं मुक्तं उद्रामीकृतम् ॥ ( १३६ )  
उपवृत्तान् भूमौ लुठितान् ॥ ( १४० ) अमर्षयन् क्षमामकृतवन्तः ॥ ( १४१ )  
व्यंसितां व्यर्थीकृताम् ॥ ( १४५ ) विकुर्वन् विक्षिपन् ॥ ( १४७ ) शून्यं  
असहायम् । अमर्षयन्तं द्रोणपुत्रं कृपमित्यादिना संबध्यते ॥ ( १४८ ) देवगुह्ये  
भूमाववतरणलक्षणगुह्यदेवकार्यरूपे ॥ ( १५१ ) तिष्ठमानं प्रकाशयन्तम् ॥  
( १५२ ) मार्गान् मण्डलानि । मिथ्या हतं गदायुद्धन्यायातिक्रमेण हतम् ॥  
( १५३ ) बीभत्सं निन्दितम् ॥ ( १५४ ) अनुयातेन लक्ष्मीकृतेन ॥  
( १५८ ) त्रयः कौरवाणां कृतवर्माश्चत्थामकृपाः । सप्त पाण्डवानां कृष्णसात्यकि-  
पाण्डवाः । द्यूना द्वाभ्यामूना ॥ ( १५९ ) तमसा स्नेहेन । मोहः अज्ञानम् ।  
संज्ञा ज्ञानम् । विह्वलता क्रियासु स्खलनम् ॥ ( १६२ ) गवल्गणस्यापत्यं  
गावल्गणिः ॥ ( १६३ ) उत्साहः वीरसप्रकृतिः प्रयत्नविशेषः ॥ ( १८१ )  
आस्तिक्यं परलोकादिष्वस्तीति धीः । आर्जवं विहितेन पथा गमनम् ॥  
( १८२ ) ते चापि निधनं गताः इत्यनेन निधनस्यानतिक्रमणीयतामाह ॥  
( १८३ ) त्वत्पुत्राणां निधनतिक्रमैका कथा । प्रत्युत रोगाणां भिव दुःखहेतूनां  
तेषां ध्वंसो न शोकाय भवितुमर्हतीत्याह तव पुत्रा दुरात्मनः इति । दुरात्मनः  
दुष्टमनसः । प्रतप्ताः दुःखाम्निक्वलिताः । मन्युना हेतुना । लुब्धाः धनमित्येव  
परकीयेऽपि कृताभिलाषाः । दुर्वृत्तभूयिष्ठाः दुराचारबहुलाः ॥ ( १८५ )  
अत्यन्तमेव निर्वृत्तिः आत्यन्तिकी दुःखनिवृत्तिः मुक्तिरिति यावत् ॥ ( १८६ )  
तथा तत्प्रकारेण मृतेनेति यावत् । तद् इत्यव्ययं तृतीयान्तं तेन चेत्यर्थः । दैवं  
प्राक्तनं कर्म ॥ ( १८७ ) कालः त्रुट्यादिलक्षणः कलनहेतुत्वात् ईश्वरो वा । तत्र  
कालस्य चेतनता सर्वकर्तृकता च प्रतीयमाना त्रुट्यादिपक्षे गौणी मुख्या पुनरी-

१ Ed शक्रद्वयौ ( for वायुशक्रौ ). २ C om अस्मान् व्याभषन्त. ३ C युष्माकं. ४  
C यदाभिमन्युपरिक्षवा...हृष्टरूपरूपात्वाद् ( corrupt ). ५ b लिखितान्. ६ b om विकुर्वन्.  
७ Ed अधर्षयन्तं. ८ Ed तिष्ठमानान्. ९ b निर्गतम् (?). १० b पञ्च ( for सप्त ). ११ Ed.  
अत्यन्तमेवानुवृत्तिः. १२ b प्रकृतकर्म (?).

अरपक्षे इति बुद्ध्या येनेष्टं तेन गम्यतामिति । मूलं उपादानकारणम् । 'मूलप्रकृति-  
रविकृतिः'\* इत्यादौ तथा प्रासिद्धेः ॥ ( १८८-१८९ ) पचति इति कर्तृतामाह  
स्वातन्त्र्यप्रतीतिः । संहरति शमयते कुरुते संक्षिपते विमृजते चरति इत्यादिषु  
स्वातन्त्र्यं विवक्षितम् । अविधृतः अनिवारितः । समः मित्रोदासीनादिभेदहीनः ॥  
( १९१ ) संजयवचनाद् धृतराष्ट्रे वीतशोके सति उपश्रवाः प्रकृतमनुवर्तयति अत्र  
इति । उपनिषद् रहस्यम् । पुण्यहेतुत्वात् पुण्याम् । कासावित्याह भारताध्यय-  
नात् इति । पादं श्लोकपादम् । श्रद्धानस्य आस्तिकस्य ॥ ( १९२ ) भारता-  
ध्ययनस्य पापनिवर्तकत्वे हेतुमाह देवर्षयः इति ॥ ( १९३ ) तस्य पुण्यहेतुत्वे  
हेतुमाह स हि इति । सत्यं अपरोक्षतया प्रतीयमानं परोक्षतया च । तथा च  
श्रुतिः 'सच्च त्यच्चेति' ।<sup>१</sup> सद् इत्यपरोक्षतया त्यद् इति परोक्षतया प्रतीयमानत्वात् ।  
ऋतं अबाधितम् । पवित्रं पापक्षयहेतुत्वात् ॥ ( १९४ ) शाश्वतं नित्यम् ।  
ब्रह्म जगज्जन्मादिकारणम् । परमं निरुपाधि । प्रवाहनित्यतापरिहारार्थमाह ध्रुवं  
इति । ज्योतिः ज्ञानम् । परिणामनित्यतापरिहारार्थमाह सनातनं इति कूटस्थ-  
मित्यर्थः ॥ ( १९५ ) असत् अभावरूपं प्रध्वंसादि । सत् भावरूपं घटादि ।  
सदसतः प्रध्वंसं प्रध्वंसेन पुनरुत्पद्यमानम् । संततिः ब्राह्मणाद् ब्राह्मण इति  
सजातीयात्परोत्पादः । प्रवृत्तिः नित्यनैमित्तिककाम्यनिषिद्धतया दृष्टलक्षणा । जन्म  
प्रकृतेर्विभागः । मृत्युः प्रकृतावविभागः । पुनर्भवः लीनस्य पुनरुत्पादः ॥  
( १९६ ) आत्मानमधिकृत्य प्रवर्तते इति अध्यात्मम् । भूतगुणाः शब्दस्पर्शरूप-  
रसगन्धाः । अव्यक्तं आपीतसमस्तकार्यं जगत्कारणम् ॥ ( १९७ ) युक्ताः  
अविक्षिप्ताः । ध्यानं तत्त्वचिन्ता । योगः चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः<sup>२</sup> । आत्मनि चेतासि ॥  
( १९९ ) आस्तिकः श्रुते कृततथेतिधीः ॥ ( २०१ ) वपुः शरीरम् ।  
एतत् इति वपुर्विशेषणम् । सत्यं कारणम् । अनृतं कार्यम् । यदाह श्रुतिः  
'वाचारम्भणं विकारो नामधेयं मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम्'<sup>३</sup> इति ॥ ( २०३ )

१ b om बुद्ध्या. २ b पठति इति कर्तृतामाह सातत्यप्रतीतिः. ३ b प्रकृतमेव पुनरनुवर्तयति.  
४ B b om from कासावित्याह up to श्लोकपादम्. C कौसावित्याह (?). ५ b om  
from सत्यं up to तथा च श्रुतिः. C om from अपरोक्षतया up to त्यच्चेति. ६ b om  
सद् इति अपरोक्षतया. ७ C om त्यद् इति परोक्षतया. ८ b पापक्षयं हेतुमाह. ९ C om from  
ध्रुवं इति up to परिणामनित्यतापरिहारार्थमाह. १० Ed अमृतं.

\* Sāmkhyakārikā 3.

१ Taitt. Up. II. 6. 1.

२ Pāt. Yogasūtra. I. 2.

३ Ch. Up. 1, 4.

अन्ततः असंभवे ॥ (२०४) भारताध्ययनस्य प्रयोजनान्तरमाह इतिहासेति ।  
इतिहासः पुरावृत्तम् । पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ।\* उपबृंहणं अर्थान्तरकल्पनया  
क्षीणस्य यथावद्याख्यानेन परिपोषः ॥ (२०५) फलान्तरमाह कार्ष्णं वेदं  
इति । कृष्णो व्यासः कृष्णवर्णत्वाद्विष्णुत्वाद्वा । कृष्णस्यायं कार्ष्णः तत्कृतत्वात् ।  
विद्यते ज्ञायते धर्मार्थकाममोक्षतत्त्वं सोपायमनेनेति वेदः । अर्थः चतुर्वर्गः । भूणः  
बालः गर्भगतो वा । स्वशाखाध्यायी ब्राह्मणो वा ॥ (१९१-२०९) अत्रोप-  
निषदं इत्यादिना

निरुक्तमस्य यो वेद सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ।

इत्यन्तेन भारताध्ययनस्य प्रयोजनमाह ॥

(२१०) यो न श्रद्धते तं प्रत्याह । तपो न कल्कः इति । तपः  
चान्द्रायणादि । अध्ययनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः । स्वाभाविकः जातिकृतः । वेदविधिः  
वेदविहितो यज्ञदानहोमादिरिति त्रयाणां वर्णानां साधारणो धर्मः । प्रसह्य वित्ता-  
हरणं इति । क्षत्रियस्य प्रसह्य बलात्कारेण हरणं ग्रहणम् । एतानि तावत्तपः-  
प्रभृतीनि न कल्कः नासारः । यद्वा न कल्कः न पापम् । तान्येव भावोप-  
हतानि । भावः अश्रद्धा अन्यथैवेदमन्यथापि स्यादिदमिति वा बुद्धिः । तथा  
उपहतानि प्रतिबद्धपुण्यसाधनभावानि वा कल्कः । एतेन तपःप्रभृतीनि भाव-  
दूषितानि यथा न श्रेयःसाधनानि तथा भारताध्ययनमपि । तान्येव च भाव-  
शुद्धानि यथा श्रेयःसाधनानि तथेदमपीति विवक्षितं मुनेः ॥

॥ आदिपर्वणि अनुक्रमाणिका ॥

[ २ ]

(२) शुश्रूषा श्रोतुमिच्छा । मे मम ब्रुवतो मयि ब्रुवति सति ॥ (३)  
पार्थिवं पृथिवीभवम् । क्षत्रं क्षत्रियजातीयम् । (६) निषिषिधुः निषिद्धवन्तः ।  
एकाक्षराधिक्येऽपि न छन्दोभङ्गः तथापि प्रयोगदर्शनात् । अथ वा सिषिधुः

१ C reads योगउपहृताविप्रतिबद्धपुण्यसाधनतया निराकल्कः (corrupt). २ C दूषितानि  
(for भावदूषितानि). ३ b निःश्रेयःसाधनानि (for न श्रेयः). ४ Ed द्रुवतश्च (for ब्रुवतो  
मे). ५ Ed सिषिधुः ६ C om from एकाक्षरा° up to शिक्षितवन्तः.

\* Amarakośa I. 6. 5.

इति पाठः । सिषिधुः शिक्षितवन्तः । अथ वा षिधिर्यं निषेधार्थः निषिद्धवन्तः  
 इत्यर्थः ॥ ( ९ ) अन्तरे संधौ ॥ ( १० ) भृदोषाः निम्नोन्नतत्वादयः ॥  
 ( १४ ) अक्षौहिणिमानं निगदव्याख्यानम् । रथस्थगजस्थपुरुषाणां अक्षौहिणी-  
 संख्यायाम् गणितत्वाद् युद्धहतानां नराणां वक्ष्यमाणयातिबह्व्या संख्यया न  
 विरोधः ॥ ( २५ ) कालेन ईश्वरेण ॥ ( २८ ) हृदिकस्य पुत्रः हार्दिक्यः  
 कृतवर्मा । गौतमः कृपः ॥ ( ३० ) अभिपन्नं अङ्गीकृतं । वैराग्यं रागद्वेष-  
 मध्यस्थता ॥ ( ३१ ) आत्मेव प्रत्यगात्मेव । वेदितव्येषु ज्ञेयेषु । एतेन दुर्ज्ञेयत्वं  
 ज्ञानस्य च मद्भाफलत्वम् । प्रधीयते सर्वमस्मिन्निति प्रधानं परमात्मा । स एव  
 अर्थः प्रतिपार्थः ॥ ( ३२ ) अर्पिता निहिता । स्तौति उत्तमा इति । वाक्  
 पदरूपतया । यथा लौकिकी वैदिकी च । स्वरव्यञ्जनसमुदायरूपत्वात्तत्तार्पिता ।  
 तर्पिता इति पाठे तृप्तिनिराकाङ्क्षता ॥ ( ३४ ) पौष्यं सौदासस्य कर्माभिदायकं  
 पर्व । पर्व एकेनार्थेनारम्भावसानसंधिः । सर्वेषां पर्वणां संक्षिप्तेनादिशब्दवाच्येनार्थे-  
 नावच्छिन्नत्वाद् आदिपर्वसंक्षेपो हि विस्तरस्यादिः । सभालक्षणेनार्थेन एकेनारम्भा-  
 वसानसंधिः अवच्छिन्नत्वाद् सभापर्व । एवमन्यत्रापि बोद्धव्यम् । शतपर्वी तु संज्ञा-  
 निमित्ते नार्थेनावच्छिन्ना ॥ ( ३८ ) हिर्यते इति हरणं स्वसृदायः । हारिका  
 तदानयनम् ॥ ( ४५ ) आसनं आस्या समं सह समास्या ॥ ( ६२ ) उक्तं  
 पुनरुपक्रान्तं खिलं इत्यभिधीयते\* ॥ ( ७०-७१ ) इति शतपर्वैव कथावतारकेण  
 लोमहर्षिणा अष्टादशपर्वतया संगृहीता ॥ ( १०१ ) कितवः द्यूतकारः ॥  
 ( ११८ ) सोमर्षिणी सोमपायी ॥ ( ११९ ) पुत्रेण पशुना ॥ ( १२८ )  
 न्यायं वेत्यधीते च इति नैयायिकः ॥ ( १३० ) बहुलां कृष्णां शमीम् ।  
 विपुलां इति वा पाठः । संन्यदधुः सम्यग्निहितवन्तः ॥ ( १४१ ) चिन्ता  
 प्रत्ययप्रवाहः ॥ ( १४३ ) आत्मानमधीकृत्य वर्तते इति अध्यात्मम् । शोके

१ C अतिर्यः. २ C संख्यायां अननुप्रवेशादतिबह्व्या संख्यया न विरोधः. ३ Mes om  
 हार्दिक्यः. ४ C प्रतिपादितः. ५ B b om from स्तौति up to तर्पिता. ६ b एकेनार्थे-  
 नावस्थावसानसंधिः. C संक्षिप्तिः ( for संधिः ). ७ B b अविच्छिन्नत्वात् ( for अवच्छिन्नत्वात् ).  
 ८ C संक्षिप्तिः ( for संधिः ). After this C repeats the passage from सर्वेषां  
 पर्वणां up to विस्तरस्यादिः. ९ C om from हिर्यते up to तदानयनम्. १० After this  
 B b ins अन्तमृतमनन्तरमृतं (?). ११ Ed समस्या ( for समास्या ). १२ C om from  
 सोमपीथी up to सम्यग्निहितवन्तः. १३ Ed विपुलां. १४ Ed संनिदधुः.

\* part of anuṣṭubh stanza, perhaps a quotation.

लालसा अभिलाषो यस्य ॥ (१४४) समितिः सभा । ऐकात्म्यं एकात्मता ॥  
 (१३१) छद्म व्याजम् ॥ (१३६) उपप्लव्ये विराटनगरे ॥ (१४७)  
 राजसु नृपेष्ट । राजसं इति वा पाठः रजोगुणास्पदम् ॥ (१३७) नौ आवयोः ॥  
 (१३९) वज्रे वृत्तवान् ॥ (१४८) मन्त्रितात् अनु पश्चात् मन्त्रितः गुप्ते  
 भाषितः । शौटीर्यं सत्यभाषितागर्वः । पञ्चम्यन्तस्य प्रत्याख्याने हेतुमाह ॥  
 (१५६) कश्मलः तामसो भावः । मोहजं मिथ्याज्ञानजम् ॥ (१५९)  
 चतुर्भिरधिकाशीतिः चतुराशीतिः ॥ (१६०) अपनिन्युः बहिष्कृतवन्तः ॥  
 (१६१) शान्तः प्राणैर्निगृहीतः ॥ (१७०) आक्षेपः निन्दा ॥ (१७५)  
 धर्मो राजा यस्य ॥ (१७७) श्लोकाग्रं श्लोकसंख्या । यशोभृतां यशः-  
 पोषकेण ॥ (१८०) प्रतिजज्ञे प्रतिज्ञातवान् । दंशनं कवचम् ॥ (१८२)  
 अमुच्यन्त मुक्ताः ॥ (१८३) अनशनं अभोजनम् । उपाविशत् उप-  
 रुद्धवती । उपालभत् इति वा पाठः ॥ (१८५) दैवं प्राक्तनं कर्म ॥  
 (१९२) क्षत्रियार्थाः क्षत्रियस्त्रियः । दिष्टान्तात् दैवात् । अनिवृत्तिः मरणं  
 तत्त्वतः । दृष्टान्ताननिवर्तिनः इति पाठे दृष्टोऽन्तोऽवसानं यैः अत एव अनि-  
 वर्तिनः । समरादिति शेषः ॥ (२०१) प्रकृतिं स्वभावम् ॥ (२०२)  
 धर्मार्थयो धर्मार्थयोर्हितः ॥ (२०४) भीष्मस्वर्गयोः संप्राप्तिः संबन्धः  
 अतः संबन्धे षष्ठ्यौ ॥ (२०९) पुत्रिका पुत्रत्वेन कल्पिता ॥ (२२१)  
 आपाने पानगोष्ठ्याम् । एरका प्रस्तरहेतुस्तृणविशेषः ॥ (२२२) समं  
 बालवृद्धेश्वरदरिद्रेषु तुल्यम् ॥ (२२३) विषादः शोकावस्था । आर्तिः भयम् ॥  
 (२२५) शरीरे इति द्वितीया द्विवचनम् । शरीरं इति वा पाठः । प्रधानतः  
 प्रधानानाम् । सार्वविभक्तिकस्तसिः ॥ (२२७) अप्रसन्नतां लब्धताम् । प्रभावः  
 शक्तिविशेषः ॥ (२२८) निर्वेदः वैराग्यं अलंबुद्धिः । संन्यासः सर्वत्यागः ॥  
 (२३३) अष्टादश इति प्रधानपर्वभिप्रायेण नोपपर्वपेक्षया । तेषां संग्रहः ।

आदिसभाविपिनानि विराट-

प्रोद्यमभीष्मगुरूणि च कर्णः ।

१ Ed शौण्डीर्यात्. २ After this B C ins दीर्घत्वं छन्दोविरोधात्. b ins दीर्घत्वं  
 छन्दोभङ्गविरोधात्. ३ Ed शस्तः. ४ Ed यशोभृतां. ५ b प्राक्तनं (?). ६ Ed [१९२]  
 तान्क्षत्रियान् शूरान्. ७ b भान्तिः. ८ Ed शरीरे.

शल्यकसौप्तिकपर्व तथा स्त्री-  
 शान्त्यनुशास्तिनुरंगममेधाः ।  
 आश्रममौसलयानिकनाकाः  
 पर्वणि पर्वणि नामविशेषाः ॥  
 एकोनविंशतिकपर्वभिरादिपर्व  
 ख्यातं सभा नवभिरष्टभिरष्टयुक्तैः ।  
 आरण्यकं ननु विराटकथा चतुर्भि-  
 रेकाधिकैर्दशभिरुद्यममामनन्ति ॥  
 भीष्मं तु पञ्चभिरथो गुरुरष्टसंख्यै-  
 रेकेन कर्णमथ शल्यकथा चतुर्भिः ।  
 सौप्तं त्रिभिस्तदनु पञ्चभिरङ्गनानां  
 शान्तिश्चतुर्भिरेनुशासनमेककेन ॥  
 द्वाभ्यामुशन्ति ह्यमेधमथाश्रमाख्य-  
 मांहुस्त्रिभिर्मुसलपर्व तथैककेन ।  
 एकैकशो गमननाकगती द्वाभ्यां  
 वंशो हरेरिति कृता शतपर्वसंख्या ॥

आदिपर्वण्यध्यायाः २१८<sup>१</sup> । श्लोकाः ८२८१<sup>२</sup> ॥ सभापर्वण्यध्यायाः ७२ ।  
 श्लोकाः २५११<sup>३</sup> ॥ आरण्यपर्वण्यध्यायाः २६९<sup>४</sup> । श्लोकाः ११६६४<sup>५</sup> ॥ विराट-  
 पर्वण्यध्यायाः ६७३<sup>६</sup> । श्लोकाः २०५० ॥ उद्योगपर्वण्यध्यायाः १८६ । श्लोकाः  
 ६६९८<sup>७</sup> ॥ भीष्मपर्वण्यध्यायाः ११७ । श्लोकाः ५८८४<sup>८</sup> ॥ द्रोणपर्वण्यध्यायाः  
 १७०<sup>९</sup> । श्लोकाः ९७०४<sup>१०</sup> ॥ कर्णपर्वण्यध्यायाः ६९ । श्लोकाः ४६६४<sup>११</sup> ॥  
 शल्यपर्वण्यध्यायाः ५९ । श्लोकाः ३२२० ॥ सौप्तिकपर्वण्यध्यायाः १८ ।  
 श्लोकाः ८७०<sup>१२</sup> ॥ स्त्रीपर्वण्यध्यायाः २७ । श्लोकाः ७७५ ॥ शान्तिपर्वण्य-  
 ध्यायाः ३३९<sup>१३</sup> । श्लोकाः १४५१५<sup>१४</sup> ॥ अनुशासनपर्वण्यध्यायाः ४२<sup>१५</sup> ।

१ C आदिपर्वण्यध्यायाः २२७. २ C om these numbers. ३ b ६३. ४ C ६६२४.  
 ५ C ५८८६. ६ C १९९०. ७ C ४९१६. ८ C ८१०. ९ b २४५२५. C om this  
 number.

श्लोकाः १५०६<sup>१</sup> ॥ अश्वमेधपर्वण्यध्यायाः १०७ । श्लोकाः ३३२० ॥ आश्रम-  
वासपर्वण्यध्यायाः ४२<sup>२</sup> । श्लोकाः १५०६<sup>३</sup> ॥ मुशलपर्वण्यध्यायाः ८<sup>४</sup> ।  
श्लोकाः ३००<sup>५</sup> ॥ महाप्रस्थानपर्वण्यध्यायाः ३ । श्लोकाः ३२०<sup>६</sup> ॥ स्वर्गा-  
रोहणपर्वण्यध्यायाः ५<sup>७</sup> । श्लोकाः २०० ॥ हरिवंशे अध्यायाः २५४<sup>८</sup> ।  
श्लोकाः ४३८४<sup>९</sup> ॥ माथुरस्यैषां व्यवस्था । पारिजातहरिवंशस्याध्यायाः २५५ ।  
श्लोकाः १२६६४ ॥ अतः परं भविष्यपौष्करादिप्रादुर्भावे अध्यायाः श्लोकाः  
३४८ । तेन पारिजातहरिवंशे श्लोकाः द्वासप्तत्यधिकषोडशसहस्राख्याः १६०७२ ।  
एवं माथुरहरिवंशेन सह पर्वाध्यायाः २३६२ श्लोकाः ९५५ । पारिजातग्रंथ-  
संख्यया पञ्चपञ्चाशत्श्लोकाधिकपञ्चशतोत्तरसहस्रद्वयोत्तरं एकलक्षं १०२५५५ ।  
इत्थं शतसहस्रेऽधिकग्रन्थो न दोषाय सप्रपञ्चतया प्रादुर्भावानां वर्णितत्वादिति ॥

( २३५ ) भारतज्ञानस्य साङ्गवेदचतुष्टयज्ञानादाधिकत्वं प्रतिपादयति यो  
विद्याद् इति । अङ्गानि शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं ज्योतिषं छन्दश्चेति ।  
उपनिषद् बृहदारण्यकादि । साङ्गोपनिषदः इति वा पाठः । साङ्गोपनिषदा  
इति पाठे तु मिदाशब्दवद् उपनिषदाशब्दो बोद्धव्यः ॥ ( २३६ ) शब्दगतैर्माधु-  
र्यादिभिर्ऋणैः सहृदयहृदयचमत्कारकारित्वादिभिर्गुणैरयमन्यानधरीकरोति इत्याह  
श्रुत्वा त्विदं इति ॥ ( २३७ ) प्रज्ञाहेतुत्वादप्ययमन्येभ्यः श्रेयानित्याह इति-  
हासोत्तमाद् इति । लोकाः संविधीयन्ते स्थाप्यन्ते येषु इति लोकसंविधयः  
भूर्भुवःस्वर्लक्षणा वास्तुविशेषाः ॥ ( २३८ ) एतत्प्रतिपाद्ये एवार्थे पुराणानां  
प्रवृत्तिरित्याह अस्याख्यानस्य इति । चतुर्विधाः जरायुजाण्डजस्वेदजोद्भिजाः ॥  
( २३९ ) क्रियाः नित्यनैमित्तिकादयः । गुणाः शब्दे श्लेषादयः अर्थे प्रतिपाद्ये  
जीवात्मनि क्षमादयः परमात्मन्यानन्दादयः ॥ ( २४० ) सर्वकथामूलमिदमाख्यान-  
मित्याह । अनाश्रित्य इति ॥ ( २४१ ) उपजीविनं तत्सदृशसंदर्भनिर्माणम् ।

१ C ८६७. b १५२६. २ b om from अश्वमेध<sup>०</sup> up to मुसल<sup>०</sup>. C अश्वमेधे अध्यायाः.  
३ C आश्रमवासिके अध्यायाः. ४ C om these numbers. ५ C मौसले पर्वणि अध्यायाः.  
६ C महाप्रस्थानिके अध्यायाः. ७ b श्लोकाः १०४८४. ८ b om from स्वर्गारोहण<sup>०</sup> up to  
प्रादुर्भावानां वर्णितत्वात्. ९ C १५४. १० C ३८४. ११ B om from माथुरस्यैषां up to  
वर्णितत्वात्. १२ C माधुर्यादिभिरनुगतैः. १३ C आत्मप्रतिपाद्ये ( for अर्थे प्रतिपाद्ये ).  
१४ Ed उपजीव्यते.



तदर्थस्य तदर्थसमस्य चार्थस्योत्प्रेक्षणम् ॥ (१८७) विशेषणे अतिशयकरणे ॥  
 (२४२) अप्रमेयं अर्थतो ग्रन्थतश्च । पुण्यं काम्यपुण्यहेतुत्वात् । पवित्रं नित्य-  
 नैमित्तिकपुण्यहेतुत्वात् । पापहरं ब्रह्महत्यादिप्रायश्चित्तत्वात् । शिवं मङ्गलत्वात् ।  
 समाधिगच्छति शब्दतोऽर्थतश्च प्रतिपद्यते । पुष्करजलाभिषेकस्य पुण्यहेतुत्वेन  
 प्रसिद्धत्वाद् उपमानत्वम् । तेनापि किं इत्यनेन पुण्यार्थिनो भारतश्रवणे एव प्रवृत्ति-  
 र्युक्तेति दर्शयति ॥ (२४३) अनुत्तमं न विद्यते उत्तमं यस्मात् । महार्थं  
 महान् धर्मार्थकाममोक्षलक्षणोऽर्थो यस्य । द्विन्यार्यं शब्दोऽर्थश्च द्वयं न्याय्यं  
 न्यायादनपेतं यस्य । अर्थे वा द्विः । द्वयं सामस्ये च एकदेशेन चाध्ययनं  
 न्याय्यम् । अथ वा द्विः द्विधा मानुषे दैवे च कर्मणि न्याय्यम् । द्वित्याज्यं इति  
 वा पाठः । द्वे गर्वाश्रद्धे त्याज्ये यस्मिस्तद् द्वित्याज्यम् । अहं भारतं बुध्ये इति  
 गर्वः जैमिनिप्रभृतीनामपि संशयदर्शनात् । अन्यथापि ब्रूयात् स्वकृतिमाहात्म्य-  
 कथापनायेत्यश्रद्धा ॥

॥ आदिपर्वणि पर्वसंग्रहः ॥

[ ३ ]

(१) दीर्घसत्रं सहस्रवार्षिकम् । उपास्ते स्म उपासितवान् ॥ (२)  
 सारमेयः आ । रोरूयमाणः अत्यर्थं रुवन् ॥ (६) नावेक्षे अवेक्षणावलक्षण-  
 मपराधं न करोमि । यदाहुः ।

कुक्कुटः पक्षवातेन आ दृष्टयान्नं प्रदूषयेत् ॥

(७) सरमा देवशुनी ॥ (८) अदृष्टं अचिन्तितम् ॥ (९) संभ्रान्तः  
 भीतः । विषण्णः मोहविकारैर्व्याप्तः । एतेन एवमुक्तमकृतापराधस्य हिंसा तीव्र-  
 वेगित्वादिहैव फलतीति ॥ (१०) पापेन कृत्यो पापमेव वा कृत्या पापकृत्या ॥  
 (१५) उपांशु अन्येनाश्रूयमाणम् ॥ (१७) उपावृत्तः प्रत्यागतः ॥ (१८)  
 तक्षशिला देशविशेषः । (१९) अपोदस्यापत्यं आपोदः । अयोदः इति वा  
 पाठः । अयोमया दन्ता अस्येति ॥ (२०) खण्डः एकदेशः ॥ (३०)  
 सर्वाणि शास्त्राणि इत्यनेन ग्रन्थेन गुरुभक्तेस्तीव्राया हस्तगतमेव तीव्रफलमिति ॥

१ C काम्यपुण्यफलत्वात्, २ Ed विन्यस्तं (for द्विन्यार्यं), ३ C om from अथ वा  
 up to चाध्ययनं न्याय्यम्, ४ C om from कृत्या up to पापकृत्या, ५ Ed अयोदः.

(३५) पविान् स्थूलः ॥ (४९) वृत्त्युपरोधः वृत्तिप्रतिबन्धः ॥ (५८) अश्विनौ स्तुहि इति अत्रेदं विचार्यते । अश्विनाविति स्वर्वेद्यौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ वा विवक्षितौ । स्वर्वेद्यौ इति पूर्वपक्षः अश्विशब्दस्य तत्पर्यायाणां च नासत्यदस्तादीनां स्वर्वेद्ये रूढत्वात् । सूर्याचन्द्रमसोश्च यौगिकत्वाद् योगाद्बुद्धेर्बलीयस्त्वात् प्रकृतत्वाच्च । विरुद्धभोजनेन हि नष्टचक्षुषश्चक्षुःकामस्य तत्प्रतिक्रियासमर्थत्वात् स्वर्वेद्यौ प्रकृतौ न सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ । सिद्धान्तस्तु सूर्याचन्द्रमसावन्यत्रासंभविनः संवत्सरर्तुमासदिनादिनिर्माणस्य लिङ्गस्य स्वर्वेद्ययोर्योजयितुमशक्यत्वात् । लिङ्गबलेन च रूढिताः प्रत्यायन्ते शब्दाः ‘आकाशस्तलिङ्गात्’\* इत्यधिकरणन्यायेन । तत्र ह्याकाशशब्दस्य भूताकाशे रूढत्वात्तदेवाकाशशब्दवाच्यमिति पूर्वपक्षं कृत्वा तल्लिङ्गाजगत्सृष्टत्वादेः परमात्मैवाकाशशब्दवाच्य इति सिद्धान्तः कृतः । प्रकृतत्वं च सूर्याचन्द्रमसोरपि संभवति । ‘आरोग्यं भास्करादिच्छेत्’ इति प्रसिद्धेः । ओषधिसाध्ये च कार्ये ओषधिशस्य चन्द्रस्य स्तुतिर्नाप्रकृता ॥ (५९) देवावश्विनौ वाग्भिर्ऋग्भिः ॥

[ ६० ] प्र पूर्वगौ पूर्वजौ चित्रभानू

गिरा वा शंसामि तपसा ह्यनन्तौ ।

दिव्यौ सुपर्णौ विरजो विमाना-

वधिक्षिपन्तौ भुवनानि विश्वा ॥

अश्विनौ अश्वाः किरणाः अनयोः सन्तीति । आशंसामि स्तौमि गुणवत्तया ब्रवीमीति संबन्धः । वाग्भिः वाक्यैः । ऋग्भिः ऋग्ग्रूपाभिः ऋचां गुणप्रकाशकत्वात् । मन्त्रत्वे शक्यतिशयेन देवतावर्जने समर्थत्वाच्च । प्र पूर्वगौ प्रशब्दो अयं आशंसामि इत्यत्र योजनीयः तेन प्राशंसामि । पूर्व दिनरजन्योरारम्भकालः तं गच्छतः इति तत्र गमयन्तौ विश्वमिति वा । गमिरयं ज्ञानार्थः । प्र इति तस्यैव विशेषणं वा प्रकृष्टं गमयतः साक्षात्कारकारित्वात् । पूर्वजौ जगत्सृष्टौ प्रथमोत्पन्नौ । यदाह ‘सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ धाता यथापूर्वमकल्पयत्’† इति । चित्रभानू चित्रा विचित्रा भानवः सूर्यस्य । त एव हि तपन्ति वर्षन्ति शिशिरमुत्सृजन्ति च ।

‡ Ed तपनावनन्तौ. २ Ed °वधिक्षिपन्तौ.

\* Br. Sūtra, I. 1. 22. † Rv. X. 190. 3.

चन्द्रस्य तु चित्रा आश्चर्या मनोहारिणः । गिरौ पर्वते पूर्वगौ इत्यन्वयः । गिरावेव हि तयोः प्रथमदर्शनस्थानम् । तेन कालापेक्षया दिनरजन्योरारम्भो देशापेक्षया गिरिः प्रथमोपलब्धिस्थानम् । मण्डलस्य परिच्छिन्नत्वेऽपि तपसा तेजसा । हि यस्मात् । अनन्तौ अपरिच्छिन्नौ । अथवा तपसा प्रसिद्धेन चान्द्रायणादिना । अन्तो मरणं न विद्यते ययोः । दिव्यौ दिवि भवौ । सुपर्णौ सुगती सुपक्षौ वा । पक्षाविव पक्षौ दक्षिणौदीर्घ्यौ दिशौ ।

गतौ तथा सहायेषु पतत्र्यङ्गरुहेषु च ।

पल्लवेषु तरूणां च पर्णशब्दः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

विरजौ विगतरजोगुणौ सात्त्विकत्वात् । विरजसौ इति प्राप्ते सलोपच्छान्दसः । विमानौ विमानस्थौ विमानशब्दस्य तत्रस्थे उपचारात् । अथवा विगतं मानं परिमाणं मानोऽहंकारो वा विगतो ययोः । अधि उपरि भूत्वा क्षिपन्तौ प्रेरयन्तौ । भुवनानि विश्वा विश्वानि । निलोपच्छान्दसः ॥

[ ६१ ] हिरण्मयो शकुनी सांपरायौ  
नासत्यदस्त्रौ सुनसौ जयन्तौ ।  
शुक्रं वयन्तौ तरसा सुवेमा-  
वधिव्ययन्तावसितं विवस्वत् ॥

हिरण्मयौ तेजोमयौ । तथा च हिरण्मयेन पात्रेण इति तेजोमयेनेत्यर्थः । हिरण्ययौ इति वा पाठः । हिरण्ययौ कामगमौ । शकुनी इव शकुनी खेचरत्वात् । सांपरायौ संपरायः परलोकः तस्मै हितौ । नासत्यदस्त्रौ न विद्यते असत्यं ययोः । दस्त्रौ दर्शनीयौ । सुनसौ शोभननासायोगिनौ । मण्डलाधिष्ठातृपुरुषस्य नासिकाद्यवयवयोगात् । जयन्तौ तमोभङ्गकर्तृत्वात् । शुक्रं शुक्लं दिवसं ज्योत्स्नायोगि नक्तं च । वयन्तौ कुर्वन्तौ । तरसा शीघ्रम् । सुवेमौ कुविन्दाविव । अवधिव्ययन्तौ अधिक्षिपन्तौ । असितं तमः । विवस्वत् विवस्वन्तौ प्रकाशन्तौ ॥

[ ६२ ] ग्रस्तां सुपर्णस्य बलेन वर्तिका-  
ममुञ्चतामश्विनौ सौभगाय ।

१ Ed वैजयन्तौ. २ Ed °वधिव्ययन्ता°.

तावत्सुवृत्तावनमं तमायया  
सत्तमा गा अरुणा उदावहम् ॥

ग्रस्तां गिलिताम् । शोभनीयानि दर्शनीयानि पर्णानि पत्राणि यस्य अर्क-  
वृक्षस्य असौ सुपर्णः । तस्य बलेन शक्त्यतिशयेन । वार्तिकामिव वर्तिकां नयन-  
रश्मिधाराम् । सुपर्णस्य गरुडस्य वर्तिकां इति पक्षविशेषम् । अनयोरुपमानोपमेय-  
भावोऽर्थादवगन्तव्यः । अमुञ्चत् दत्तं युवामिति प्रार्थनायामेव । विभक्तिपुरुषयोर्व्य-  
त्यात् अमुञ्चताम् इत्याह । हे अश्विनौ । सौभगाय सुभगभावाय । अन्धो  
ह्यसुभगः । तावत् अनमं नमस्कृतवानस्मि इत्यन्वयः । सुवृत्तौ शोभनाचारौ  
सुवर्तुलौ वा । तमायया साकाङ्क्षया बुद्ध्या । तमु काङ्क्षायां अय गतौ च ।  
ताम्यति अयते येन तमाया । सत्तमाः शोभनतमाः । गाः दृष्टीः । अरुणाः  
लोहिताः । अरुणत्वं दृष्टेर्गुणविशेषः । उदावहम् उदावहामि प्राप्नोमि यावत् इति  
बोद्धव्यं तावद्यावतोर्नित्यसंबन्धात् ॥

[ ६३ ] षष्टिश्च गावास्त्रिशताश्च धेनव  
एकं वत्सं सुवते दुहन्ति ।  
नानागोष्ठा विहिता एकदोहना-  
स्तावश्विनौ दुहतो धर्म्यमुक्थ्यम् ॥

गावः तिथयः तासां विशेषणं धेनवः दोग्धयः । चकारावन्योन्यं समु-  
चिनुतः । षष्ठ्यधिका त्रिशती । एकं वत्सं संवत्सरलक्षणम् । सुवते उत्पाद-  
यन्ति । तं एव दुहन्ति पूरयन्ति । नाना विचित्राणि गोष्ठानि गोस्थानकानि  
पक्षमासर्तुलक्षणानि यासाम् । विहिता कृताः एकः अर्कः दोहनः दोग्धा यासां  
ताः पूर्वोक्ताः गाँ । तावश्विनौ दुहतः इत्यन्वयः । धर्म्यं धर्मो धर्मः तस्मै हितं ।  
उक्थ्यं प्रशस्यम् ॥

[ ६४ ] एकां नाभिं सप्तशता अराः श्रिताः  
प्रधिष्वन्या विशतिरर्पिता अराः ।

१ Ed अनमन्त मायया. २ Ed उदावहम्. ३ C तमायया तमु आकांक्षायां.....तया  
हेतुधृतया.....वृष्टिप्राप्तिः तां दर्शयति ( corrupt). ४ Ed धर्म्यमुक्थ्यम्. ५ After this, C  
ins चन्द्रस्यापि सूर्ये प्रवेशाच्च पृथग्दोहकथनम्. ६ C उक्थ्यं उक्तिः प्रशस्तिः तस्मै हितं उक्थ्यमिति  
वा उक्थ्यो वेदध्यायाः तस्मै हितम्

अनेमि चक्रं परिवर्ततेऽजरं  
मायाश्विनौ समनक्ति चर्षणी ॥

एकां प्रधानभूतां नाभिं ऋतुषट्करूपां श्रिताः सप्तशतानि अराः  
अहानि रात्रयश्च । प्रधिषु अन्तेषु अन्याः अराः अहानि रात्रयो दश एवं विंशतिः  
अर्पिताः स्थापिताः । अ वासुदेवो नेमिः यस्य अनेमिः । पर्वतचक्रं परिवर्तते  
गत्वा गत्वा निवर्तते । अजरं अविनाशि इत्यर्थः । माया प्रज्ञा सर्वज्ञानम् । हे  
अश्विनौ युवां माया समनक्ति व्यनक्ति । मायाया विशेषणं चर्षणी प्रसिद्धेति  
यावत् । तस्मात्परमेश्वरप्रज्ञया व्यङ्गिनौ युवां किं कर्तुमसमर्थौ ॥

[ ६५ ] एकं चक्रं वर्तते द्वादशारं प्रधि-  
पन्नाभिमेकाक्षममृतस्य धारणम् ।  
यस्मिन्देवा अधि विश्वे विषक्ता-  
स्तौ माश्विनौ मुञ्चतं मा विषादतम् ॥

एकं चक्रं संवत्सरलक्षणं वर्तते व्यवहारभावेन प्रवर्तते । द्वादशमासा  
अरा यस्मिन् । प्रधौ नेमेः प्रान्ते प्रान्ते सीदन्तीति प्रधिपन् अयनद्वयम् । तत्र  
हुत्तरायणे रात्रिः सीदति दक्षिणायने दिनम् । प्रधिपन् एव नाभिः यस्य ।  
प्रधिषण्णाभिं इति पाठः । प्रधिः चक्रोदरात् बहिः षट् ऋतवो नाभिर्भ्यस्य ।  
एकः अद्वितीयः ईश्वरः अक्षो यस्य । अमृतस्य मोक्षस्य धारणं स्थानं ध्रियते-  
स्मिन्निति । यस्मिन् अधि उपरि विश्वे देवा विषक्ता विशेषेण श्रिताः । तौ  
तादृशौ मा मुञ्चतम् । माँशब्दो निषेधे । मा त्यजतमित्यर्थः । कर्मापेक्षया चक्र-

१ C सुनेमि. २ C ins the following passage here :—

एकां नाभिं संवत्सररूपाम् । मध्यस्यत्वाद् नाभिः । तस्यां नाभौ सप्तशता विंशतिः च अराः  
कण्टकाः द्विजाः । अहोरात्रे विभज्य विंशत्यधिकसप्तशतसंख्या पूरणीया । सुनेमि शोभनं नेमिः नमना-  
द्भवति । तथा चक्रं कालचक्रं परिभ्रमणशीलम् । मायाश्विनौ चन्द्रादित्यौ क्रमेण.....समनक्ति  
चर्षणी (सु?) । सम- (कं) अनवरतं भ्रमति ऋतुमासादिक्रमेण । अजरं जराशून्यं अविनाशीत्यर्थः ।  
माया जगत्कारणं कपटम् । हे अश्विनौ युवयोः माया तच्चक्रं समनक्ति । मायायाः विशेषणं चर्षणी ।  
चर्षः प्रसिद्धः तद्युक्ता प्रसिद्धा इत्यर्थः । तस्मात्परमेश्वरप्रज्ञया व्यङ्गिनौ युवां किं न कर्तुं समर्थौ ।

३ Ed षण्णाभिं. ४ Ed °स्ताश्विनौ मुञ्चतो. ५ B मा निषेधि मुञ्चतः त्यजतः. ६ C ins  
the following passage here :—

कर्मापेक्षायां पूर्वोक्तकालचक्रं संबध्यते । कालचक्रं त्यजतमित्यर्थः । हे अश्विनौ यतः एषंधुनौ युवां  
ततः मा विषादतं इति मा विषादयतं णिचो लोपाद् विषादतम् । एवं महिमानौ युवां वृष्ट्यपेक्षया अहं  
प्रार्थये इति प्रार्थना मुञ्चत इति ।

मित्यादिना उक्तं कालचक्रमिति संबध्यते । तदिदमेतादृशं कालचक्रं अश्विनौ मा  
त्यजतः किं तु धारयतः इति तयोर्महिमातिशयः कथितो भवति । मा विषीदतं  
इति णिचो लोपात् मा विषादयतमिति लभ्यते । एवं महिमानौ युवां उपेक्षया मा  
विषादयतमिति प्रार्थना ॥

[ ६६ ] अश्विनाविन्द्रममृतं वृत्तभूयौ  
तिरोधत्तामश्विनौ दासपत्नी ।  
हित्वा गिरिमश्विनौ गामुदाचरन्तौ  
तद्रष्टुमहा प्रथिता बलस्य ॥

अश्विनौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ । इन्द्रममृतं च तिरोधत्तां तिरोहितवन्तौ ।  
तत्र हेतुः वृत्तभूयौ ईति । वृत्तानि चरितानि भूयांसि ययोः । वृत्तभूयांसा-  
विति प्राप्ते सल्लोपच्छान्दसः । वृत्तानि जगद्विरोधितमोनिवारणं तेजःप्रसारणं व्यव-  
हारप्रवर्तनमित्यादीनि । तत्र इह तिरस्कारार्थं च सुसजनप्रबोधनमित्यादि  
सूर्यस्य । चन्द्रस्य ज्योत्स्नया जगत्संतापोपशमनं चराचराण्यायनमिति । तत्रैवं  
हेत्वन्तरमाह अश्विनौ दासपत्नी ईति । दासानिव दासान् भक्तान् पालयन्तौ ।  
अत्र लिङ्गव्यत्ययाद्वचनव्यत्ययाच्च स्त्रीलिङ्गमेकवचनत्वं च पालयन्तावित्यस्य पत्नी  
इत्यादेश इति यावत् । अश्विनोः अपरं महिमानमाह हित्वा गिरिं इति ।  
उदयगिरिं त्यक्त्वा । गां भुवम् । उदाचरन्तौ उच्चैः परिभ्रमन्तौ । एकेन अह्ना  
दिवसेन । तद्रष्टुं सर्वं प्राणिभिः । अश्विनोः बलस्य सामर्थ्यस्य । प्रथनं प्रथः  
प्रयोऽस्यास्तीति प्रथी तस्य भावः प्रथितौ सामर्थ्यस्य प्रकाश इति यावत् ॥

१ Ed भित्वा. २ Ed बलस्य. ३ C इन्द्रं शक्तिं अमृतं च देवार्थं तिरोधत्ता आच्छादितवन्तौ.  
४ C has अत्र हेतुः यौ वृत्तभूयौ वृत्तानि भूयांसि ययोः तौ तथा च्छान्दसः सलोपः. ५ After this  
C ins दृष्टिप्रसादनं स्वात्मनकपुजनं इत्यादीनि. ६ C has तिरस्कारार्थं सूर्यस्य । चन्द्रस्यामृतमयत्वा-  
ज्जगत्संतापोपशमनं चराचराण्यायनमिति । तेनाश्विनौ इन्द्रकर्म अमृतकर्म च कुरुतः अतः कर्मद्वारेण तौ  
कीर्तयति. ७ C om तत्रैव हेत्वन्तरमाह. ८ C ins the following passage here :-  
अश्विनौ दासपत्नी । दास इव दासा भक्ताः तान्यत्नी पालयन्तौ तस्यालकावित्यर्थः । लिङ्गव्यत्ययेन वचन-  
व्यत्ययेन च स्त्रीलिङ्गत्वं एकवचनत्वं च पालकौ इत्यस्य स्थाने पत्नीशब्दात्. ९ B om from एकेन  
अह्ना up to बलस्य सामर्थ्यस्य. १० After प्रथिता C ins the following passage :-  
अश्विनोः इत्यलालभ्यते अश्विनोर्बलस्य । प्रथिता प्रकाशः सर्वैरेव दृष्टेत्यन्वयः । उपरिदृष्टमित्यर्थाद् भिद्यते  
दृष्टेति । अश्विनौ इति स्थानं त्रयेपि पृथक्पृथक्प्रतिपादकत्वाद्बुद्ध्यारणम् । यस्मादश्विनौ इन्द्रामृतकार्यं  
कुरुतः भक्ताश्च पालयतः भुवं च गतौ तस्मान्ममामिलपितं कुरुतामित्यन्वयः ।

[ ६७ ] युवां दिशो जनयथो दशाग्रे  
समानं मूर्ध्नि रथयानं वियान्ति ।  
तासां यानमृषयोऽनुप्रयान्ति  
देवा मनुष्याः क्षितिमाचरन्ति ॥

युवां अश्विनौ दश दिशो जनयथः प्रादुर्भावयथः । दिशो<sup>१</sup> विशेषणं दश ।  
अग्रे प्रथमतः । समानं सह यथा भवति । मूर्ध्नि उपरि । रथयानं रथसमूहः ।  
वियान्ति विशेषेण गच्छन्ति । तासां पूर्वोक्तानां दिशां यानं यायते इति यानो  
मार्गः । ऋषयोऽनु अनन्तरं प्रयान्ति । देवा मनुष्या क्षितिमाचरन्ति ॥

[ ६८ ] युवां वर्णान्विकुरुथो विश्वरूपान्  
तेष्विध्यन्ते भुवनानि विश्वा ।  
ते भानवोऽत्यन्तभूताश्चरन्ति  
देवा मनुष्याः क्षितिमाचरन्ति ॥

युवां चन्द्रादित्यौ यान् वर्णान् रश्मीन् विकुरुथो विविधप्रकारेण कुरुथः ।  
अभिव्यञ्जयथ धातुक्रमेण विश्वरूपान् जगतः प्रकाशकान् । तेषु भुवनानि  
विश्वानि इध्यन्ते गच्छन्ति । सर्वे जगद्भवत्तेजः एव गच्छतीत्यर्थः । विश्वा  
मिळोपच्छन्दसः । इधि गतौ इत्यस्य धातोः इध्यन्त इति रूपम् । ते युवयोः  
भानवो । अत्यन्तभूता अभ्यन्तरप्रसारिताः । चरन्ति अधस्तिर्यग्गच्छन्ति ।  
ये देवा मनुष्याः च क्षितिं क्षयं कर्मसमाप्तिं आचरन्ति इत्यर्थः । एतेन युवां  
प्रार्थिनां कर्मप्रवृत्तिर्नास्तीत्यन्वयः ॥

[ ६९ ] तौ नासत्यावश्विनौ वां महे वां  
स्रजं च यां बिभृथः पुष्करस्य ।  
तौ नासत्यावमृतावृतावृधा-  
वृते देवास्तत्प्रपदेन सृते ॥

१ Ed रथया ( for रथयानं ). २ Ed यानं ( for यानं ). ३ B युवां दिशो जनयथः प्रादुर्भाव-  
यथम् । ४ C om दिशो विशेषणं दश. ५ B वियानि विशेषणं याति. ६ After यानं, C ins  
मार्गमृषयः बालखिल्यादयः अनु अनन्तरं प्रयान्ति । देवा मनुष्याश्च क्षितिं स्वकीयमूर्ध्नि आचरन्ति. ७ B  
om the Rk 'युवां वर्णान्' etc. and the commentary on it. ८ Ed तेऽधिस्तिर्यग्गच्छन्ति  
( for तेष्विध्यन्ते ). ९ Ed ०वोऽत्यन्तभूता० ( for ०वोऽत्यन्तभूता० ). १० Ed ०वश्विनावामहे  
वां ( for ०वश्विनौ वां महे वा ).

तौ पूर्वोक्तौ नासत्यौ न विद्यतेऽसत्यं ययोः । अश्विनौ इति संबोध्य ।  
वां युवाम् । वा महे पूजयामि । स्रजं मालाम् । यां च विभृथो धारयथः ।  
पुष्करस्य पद्मस्य । तां च महे इत्यर्थः । तौ नासत्यौ असत्यशून्यौ । अमृतौ  
मृतिशून्यौ । नासत्यावित्यनेनासत्याभावः प्रतिपादित इति न पुनरुक्तम् । ऋधौ  
ऋद्धियुक्तौ । ऋते सत्ये मार्गे । देवास्तत्प्रपदेन तच्च तत्प्रपदं चेति प्रकृष्टो मार्ग  
इत्यर्थः । सूते 'व'व्यत्ययात् सुवते ॥

[ ७० ] मुखेन गर्भं लभेथां युवानौ

गतासुरेतत्प्रपदेन सूते ।

सद्योजातो मातरमस्ति गर्भं—

स्तावश्विनौ मुञ्चथो जीवसे गाः ॥

मुखेन मुखस्थनासिकाभ्याम् । गर्भं गर्भस्थमपत्यम् । लभेथां युवानौ  
नातिबाढाविति गर्भान्तरादुत्कर्षः । गतायुः मरणधर्मा । एतत्प्रपदेनं एवं मार्गेण  
सूते । पुनर्वैलक्षण्यमाह । सद्योजातः गर्भः मातरमस्ति धयति । एतेन  
गर्भो न धारयत इति विशेषः । यद्यपि अश्विनीकुमारावेकस्य सूर्यस्य पुत्रौ तथापि  
इह उभयपुत्रतया व्यपदिश्येते मित्रपुत्रस्यापि पुत्रत्वात् । तौ यथोक्तरूपौ  
अश्विनौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ । गाः दृष्टीः । मुञ्चथः दत्तम् । प्रार्थनायां विभक्तिव्यत्य-  
यात् तेन मुञ्चतमिति बोद्धव्यम् । जीवसे जीवनाय । यथा सर्वमर्यादाभिर्दं  
बुभुक्षामन्यच्च दुःसहपरिभवशतं सोढ्वाऽक्षतगुरुभक्तेरुपमन्येरेवंविधं फलं प्रसूत-

१ After this B ins वां समुच्चयो ( ये ? ) यां विभ्रय धारय ( corrupt ). २ C नासत्य-  
नामानौ. ३ After मृतिशून्यौ C ins पूर्व नाम्नो निरुक्त्या नासत्यार्थप्रतिपादनम् । इदानीं कर्मणा  
इति ( न ) पुनरुक्तम् । .....धाधोधाद्वियुक्तौ (?) ययोः तत्प्रपदेन मार्गेण देवाः सूते.....क्षीय गतं  
गृह्णन्तीत्यर्थे वचनव्यत्ययादिकर्षं बहुवृत्ते । ४ B सूते ( corrupt for क्ते after ऋद्धियुक्तौ ).  
५ Ed लभतां ( for लभेथां ). ६ B सत्यो. ७ B गर्भं. ८ B मुखेन मुखस्तु (?) नासिकापुटभ्याम्.  
९ After युवानौ C ins किमुतौ युवानौ । अनेन गर्भान्तरादुत्कर्षः । सूर्य एव चन्द्रमाः बहवाया  
गर्भमाधत्त ( तस्मा ) च्छुक्रं नासिकायां निरवसत् । तत्राश्विनौ जातौ. १० After एतत्प्रपदेन C ins  
एवं मार्गेण योनिनिर्गमलक्षणेन सूते भवन्तौ तथा वृत्तो ( न... ) अतः पुनर्वैलक्षण्यमाह । सत्यो ( ध्यो ) जातं  
गतं ( भै ) मातरं घति धयति तस्यां स्तनपानं करोति । युवयोः पुनर्गर्भः तथाभूतो न भवति । गर्भमिति ।  
लिङ्गव्यत्ययान्तरपुंसकत्वम्. ११ B om गाः दृष्टीः. १२ B मुञ्चथोदस्यः ( corrupt ). After  
मुञ्चथः दत्तम् C ins अर्थान्मन्युमित्यर्थः ( अर्थीदुपमन्युमित्यर्थः ? ) । मुञ्चथ इति व्यत्ययान्मुञ्चतमिति ।  
किमर्थम् । जीवसे जीवनाय । अर्धो हि क्वचिद्गमनात्पुण रोधादङ्गहन्त्वा ( दि ) निन्दितत्वाच्च जीवरहितो  
भवति । जीवत ( से ? ) इति छान्दसः.



वती वैदिकी श्रुतिः एवमन्यस्यापि भक्त्यातिशयशालिनः एव वेदः फलवान् । अन्यस्व तु काव्यनाटकादीन्पठतो निष्फलः इत्युपमन्परीक्षातात्पर्यार्थः । तथा वेदपरीक्षातात्पर्यार्थः । अनर्हेऽपि कर्मणि प्रेर्यमाणेन शीतोष्णद्वन्द्वैर्बाध्यमानेनापि तथा पारुष्यं प्रभुज्ञानस्य गुरोरप्रतिकूलचरणेन दीर्घकालपर्युपासनं मन्त्रशक्त्य-निशयमुद्धोधयति ॥

( ८४ ) न इयेष नेष्टवान् । उत्तङ्कपरीक्षातात्पर्यार्थस्तु स्त्रीभिः स्वयं त्रियमाणेनापि ब्रह्मचर्यान्न स्थलितव्यमिति ॥ ( ९४ ) अधर्मेण अध्यापनधर्माति-क्रमेण विब्रूयात् विशिष्टं ब्रूयात् । प्रैति म्रियते ॥ ( १०० ) पिनद्धे आनद्धे । पुण्यकं व्रतविशेषः । परिवेषणं अन्नादिदानम् ॥ ( १०१ ) प्रातिष्ठत् प्रस्थान-मकरोत् ॥ ( ११५ ) खानि इन्द्रियाणि ॥ ( ११७ ) भिक्षिते याचिते ॥ ( १३९ ) ऐरावतो राजा येषां ॥ ( १४० ) कल्माषः चित्रः ॥ ( १४१ ) अर्काशिव एव नागान् प्रति । सेनेव सेना तद्वोधकत्वात् ॥ ( १४२ ) प्रग्रहः दाम । धृतराष्ट्रो यदा एजति कम्पते गच्छतीति यावत् । यान्ति गच्छन्ति । दामबद्धा इव गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः ॥ ( १४३ ) ऐरावतो ज्येष्ठो भ्राता येषाम् ॥ ( १४६ ) महद्द्युम्नि देशविशेषे ॥ ( १४७ ) तन्त्रे चन्द्रसूर्यतुरीनिबद्धराज्यह-र्लक्षणसूत्रसमुदाये । आधिरोप्य तन्त्रोपरि आरोप्य । भाविनं पटं बुद्धयारोप्येत्यर्थः । वयन्त्यौ तन्तून् सुनिरन्तरान् कुर्वन्त्यौ ॥ ( १४८ ) कृष्णौ रात्रयः । सिता दिवसाः । चक्रमिव चक्रं संवत्सरं परिभ्रमणकारित्वात् । कुमारा इव कुमाराः अल्पकालत्वात् । परिवर्तनं गतस्यानयनम् । पुरुषं इन्द्रम् । दर्शनीयं दर्शनार्हम् ॥ ( १४९ ) मन्त्रवादाः ते श्लोकाः चेति ॥ ( १५० ) षष्ठ्यधिका त्रिशती तिथि-नाम् । चरति गच्छति । चतुर्विंशति पर्वाणि पक्षाः ॥ ( १५१ ) विश्वरूपे नानारूपे । विवर्तयन्त्यौ परिणामयन्त्यौ तन्तून् सुनिरन्तरान् कुर्वन्त्यौ ॥ ( १५२ ) भर्ता धारयिता । कृष्णे वर्णतः ॥ ( १५३ ) अपां गर्भः अद्भ्यो जातत्वात् । पुराणं सृष्ट्यादौ जातत्वात् ॥ ( १६२ ) आवापयन्ती शोषाय क्षिपन्ती ॥ ( १८० ) शब्दानां संपदं मधुरहितप्रियता ॥ ( १८६ ) अप-

१ C प्राप्तं ज्ञानस्य ( for मधुआनस्य ), २ C उत निरन्तरा (?) कुर्वन्त्यौ, ३ Com from कृष्णः रात्रयः up to सुनिरन्तरान् कुर्वन्त्यौ, ४ Ed परिवर्त्यमानं, ५ Ed विश्वरूपं, ६ Ed आवपन्ती.

चित्तिः पूजा । इयमेव च पूजा तदपकर्तुरपकारो नाम ॥ (१८७) पञ्चत्वं  
मरणम् ॥ (१८८) बलेन विषसामर्थ्येन । दर्पः चित्तसमुत्पत्तिः । उन्मत्तः  
उन्मार्गगः ॥ (१९५) दुःखं प्रतिकूलवेदनीयम् । शोको विपन्नस्येष्टस्य पुनः  
पुनर्भावनम् ॥

[ ४ ]

( ५ ) शास्त्रे विधिशास्त्रे । आरण्यकं बृहदारण्यकम् । तच्च ब्रह्मशास्त्रा-  
णामुपलक्षणम् ॥

[ ५ ]

( १ ) कश्चित् प्रश्ने ॥ ( ३ ) कल्पाः समर्थाः । अहं इत्यस्य विशेष-  
णम् ॥ ( ६ ) पुराणरूपे आश्रये संयुतम् ॥ ( ९ ) यशः नाम देशान्तरे  
कालान्तरे च परबुद्धिसमारूढो गुणौघः । नियतः विधिप्रतिषेधाभ्याम् । इन्द्रियं  
उपस्थः तस्य नियमः स्वदारेष्वपत्यार्थप्रवृत्तिः ॥ ( १४ ) हृच्छयः कामः ॥  
( १६ ) जिहीर्षुः हर्तुमिच्छन् ॥ ( २३ ) कविः पण्डितः ॥

[ ६ ]

( ६ ) सृतिः मार्गः ॥ ( १२ ) तेजसा प्रभावेन ॥

[ ७ ]

( ६ ) योगेन योगप्रभावेन इच्छानभिघातलक्षणेन इच्छाप्रकाम्येन ।  
आत्मानं शरीरेन्द्रियम् । मूर्तिषु आकारेषु । सत्रेषु दीर्घकालचरितेषु । क्रियासु  
नित्यनैमित्तिकीषु । मन्त्रेषु अग्निष्टोमादिषु ॥ ( ८ ) आपः आपप्रभवोऽग्निः ।  
कार्ये कारणोपचारात् । अपां स्वभावेन प्रयोजनाभावात् । एतेनाग्निः देवगणाः  
सर्वे अग्निः पितृगणास्तथा इत्युक्तं भवति ॥ ( ९ ) एकीभावः एकाम्निरूप-  
त्वात् । पृथक्त्वं मूर्तिभेदात् ॥ ( १२ ) संहारं अदर्शनम् ॥ ( १४ )  
विघर्षं कुरुष्वम् ॥

[ ८ ]

( १३ ) भगदैवते पूर्वफलगुन्याम् ॥

[ ९ ]

( १६ ) भविष्ये भविष्यपुराणे ॥ ( १८ ) व्रतं नियमम् ॥

[ १० ]

( ३ ) अहिगन्धेन अहिसादृश्यात् ॥ ( ४ ) एकोऽनर्थः सर्पधिया निष्कारणदण्डपातादिः । पृथगर्थो विषप्रभृतिः । एकं दुःखं विलेशयत्वं पवना-  
शनत्वमित्यादि । पृथक्सुखं पूजारक्षणहविर्भागादि ॥ ( ६ ) कामया  
स्वेच्छया ॥

[ ११ ]

( ६ ) नर्म हसनम् ॥ ( १२ ) अहिंसा देशकालजातिसमयैरनव-  
च्छिन्नो भूतानामनभिद्रोहः । देशावच्छिन्नः तीर्थे न हनिष्यामीति । कालावच्छिन्नः  
पर्वणि न हनिष्यामि । जात्यवच्छिन्नो मत्स्यबन्धस्य मत्स्यादन्यं न हनिष्यामि ।  
समयावच्छिन्नः पितृदेवकल्पितादन्यं न हनिष्यामि । तद्व्यवच्छेदार्थमाह अनवच्छिन्न  
इति । अभिद्रोहः परदुःखोत्पादनानुकूलो व्यापारः । तद्विरोधी संकल्पोऽनभिद्रोहः ।  
नञ्चापर्युदासत्वात् ॥ ( १३ ) सौम्यः सोमसधर्मः परानुपतापकः ॥ ( १४ )  
क्षमा अपकृतस्य प्रतीकारबुद्ध्यनुत्पादः ॥ ( १५ ) उग्रत्वं पराभि-  
भवशीलत्वम् ॥

[ १३ ]

( १४ ) याथावराः अनिकेताः ॥ ( १८ ) विष्टितः विशेषेणाचारेण  
स्थितः ॥ ( २३ ) भावितं दृढवासनम् ॥ ( २५ ) उपायंस्ये उपयंस्ये  
इति वा पाठः ॥ ( २९ ) निवेशाय विवाहाय ॥ ( ३५ ) अनिलसारथिः  
अग्निः ॥ ( ४० ) अन्तः एव अन्तकः क्षयः । स्वार्थे कः प्रत्ययः ॥

[ १४ ]

( ७ ) अतिसर्गः दानम् ॥ ( ८ ) यैर्गुणैर्बुद्धिमारुढैः शत्रूणामुत्साहं  
संकुचति तत् तेजः । विक्रमः शस्त्रवाहनाद्यधिष्ठानम् ॥ ( १२ ) दशतीर्दश

१ Ed विष्टितः. २ Ed उपयंस्ये. ३ C सेनाशस्त्रवाहनाद्यधिष्ठानम्.

दशतिः शतं दशसहस्रमित्ययं ॥ ( १६ ) अर्घ्यार्धं सार्धम् ॥

[ १५ ]

( ९ ) अनन्तकल्पं अनन्तमिव । उद्विद्धं उन्नतम् ॥ ( १२ ) कलश  
इव उदधिः कलशोदधिः सागरः ॥ ( १३ ) वेत्स्यध्वं लप्स्यध्वम् ॥

[ १६ ]

( ६ ) अनन्तो नागराजः ॥ ( १० ) अकूपारः समुद्रः ॥ ( १२ )  
नेत्रं मन्थनरज्जुः ॥ ( ३१ ) कलशः सागरः ॥ ( ३३ ) श्वेतेन  
सहस्राणां योजनानामन्तो यस्य तस्मात् । समान इव सदश इव अर्थात्  
सागरेणेति बोद्धव्यम् ॥

[ १७ ]

( १ ) आवरणमुख्यानि कवचानि ॥ ( ११ ) प्रासाः कुन्ताः ॥  
( २३ ) प्रसह्य हठेन ॥ ( ३० ) किरीटिने नराय ॥

[ १८ ]

( २ ) उच्चैःश्रवा नुं किंवर्णः इत्यत्र नु वितर्कं । विषणावहे वाग्युतं  
प्रवर्तयावहे ॥ ( ४ ) दीव्य क्रीड ॥ ( ६ ) जिह्वं कौटिल्यम् ॥ ( ९ )  
दैवं प्राक्तनं कर्म ॥ विषहर्णी विषघ्नीम् ॥

[ १९ ]

( १ ) व्युष्टायां दग्धायाम् ॥ ( ६ ) पातालज्वलनो वडवानलः ।  
बध्यतेऽस्मिन्निति बन्धनम् ॥ ( ११ ) गां विन्दता पृथ्वीं लभमानेन ॥  
( १२ ) ब्रह्मर्षिणा अत्रिणा ॥ ( १३ ) युगं सृष्टिः तस्यादिः पूर्वः प्रलयः  
तत्काले शयनं शय्या ॥ ( १४ ) अभिसार्यमाणं गुप्तं अभिगम्यमानम् ॥

( २४ )

( ९ ) अरिष्टं अविघ्नम् ॥

१ Ed पूर्वाधिकार्य<sup>०</sup> ( for अध्यर्थ ). २ Ed शतसहस्रांशुः ( for शतसहस्रान्न ). ३ After  
this C ins शतसहस्र्यां लक्षरूपायां. ४ Mss तु ( for उ ).

( २६ )

( १९ ) न तां वध्ना परिणहेत् शतचर्मा महानपुः । अनेन शाखायाः पृथुतामाह । वध्ना वरत्रा एकचर्मरज्जुरिति यावत् । न परिणहेत् न वेष्टयेत् । शतशब्दोऽयमनन्तवाची अनन्तचर्मनिर्मित इति यावत् । महानपुः इति । दीर्घत्वात् महान् सूक्ष्मत्वात् अपुः दीर्घोऽपि तन्तुवत्सूक्ष्मः । शतचर्मा अपुः इति अतिदीर्घता ध्वन्यते ॥

[ २८ ]

( १ ) समुदीर्णे प्रेक्षणि ॥ ( ३ ) भौमर्नः त्वष्टा ॥ ( ४ ) नवत्यो नवतीः एकाशीतिशतानि ॥ ( २५ ) पत्तरथः पक्षरथः । आस्तरत् आच्छादितवान् ॥

[ २९ ]

( २ ) अयस्मयं लोहमयम् ॥ ( ४ ) पर्यवर्तत परिवृत्तिं कृतवान् अवान्तरं गतवान् इत्यर्थः ॥ ( ११ ) शुचिः अलोलुपः । यतः संयतः ॥ ( १८ ) आक्रन्दे कलकले ॥ ( १९ ) ऋषेः दधीचेः ॥

[ ३० ]

( ४ ) पक्ष एव नाडी पक्षनाडी ॥ ( ५ ) स्थाणुः स्थावरः ॥ ( ११ ) उपाधिः छंभ ॥ ( १४ ) परमप्रकृष्टवान् इति मत्वर्थीयः ॥

[ ३१ ]

( १ ) भुजंगमानां शापस्य मात्रा कद्रा दत्तस्य । सुतेन अरुणेन दत्तस्य विनतायाः शापस्य कारणम् ॥

१. After this C ins तच्छोषगतकः (?) चर्मरज्जुरिति यावत् । हस्तचतुष्टयपरिमितेति केचित्. २ C महानपुः इति दीर्घत्वात् । महानपुः ( पुः ? ) इति वा पाठः. ३ B तन्तुर्न सूक्ष्मः. ४ After this C ins महानत्वः (?) अतिमहतीत्यर्थः. ५ C समुदीवीयोपक्षोमः (?). ६ Ed भौमः. ७ Ed नवत्या नवतीः. ८ B om अवान्तरं गतवान् इत्यर्थः. ९ Ed आशु वीर्यवान् (for आचिर्यतः). १० C उपाधिः छलम्. ११ Ed परमहृष्टवत्.

[ ३२ ]

( १ ) प्रेत्यभावः मृत्वा जन्म ॥ ( १७ ) धर्मः देशनालक्षणोऽर्थः । धर्मस्यैव विशेषः शुभः । स चान्तःकरणस्य विषयेभ्यो व्यावृत्तिः । शरीरेन्द्रिय-  
तापनो धर्मः तपः ॥ ( १८ ) दमः विषयाद्विनिवृत्तस्य मनसो विवक्षिते तत्त्वे  
विनियोगयोग्यता । प्रश्रयः प्रकृष्टो मार्गः ॥

[ ३३ ]

( ५ ) अन्ययस्य अविनाशिनः । अप्रमेयस्य व्यापकस्य । सत्यस्य  
परमार्थस्य । एतैर्विशेषणैर्ब्रह्मण इति यावत् ॥ ( ७ ) अनामयं हितम् ॥  
( ८ ) यथा नष्टमग्निं दृष्टवन्त इत्यर्थः ॥ ( ९ ) यथा वापि पराभवेत्  
निष्पन्नोपि फलं न कुर्यात् ॥ ( १० ) मन्त्रबुद्धिविशारदाः मन्त्रो रहस्यं  
तस्य बुद्धिः विनिश्चयः तथा विशारदाः पण्डिताः ॥ ( ११ ) भिक्षामः  
याचामः ॥ ( १८ ) कृतं प्रतिकृतम् ॥ ( २८ ) नैष्ठिकी निष्ठानुकूला ॥

[ ३४ ]

( २ ) स च राजा तथाविधो न भवतीत्यन्वयः ॥ ( ३ ) दैवेन  
प्राकृतेन कर्मणा । उपहतः पीडितो यो भवेत् स दैवं शुभं कर्म समाचरेत् ॥  
( ५ ) देवानां वचोऽहमश्रौषम् इति ॥ ( ६ ) तीक्ष्णास्तीक्ष्णा इति नागा  
इति शेषः ॥ ( ११ ) यन्निमित्तम् इति क्रियाविशेषणम् ॥

[ ३५ ]

( ८ ) विचिर्णं अनुष्ठितम् ॥ ( १२ ) नित्ययुक्तान् नित्योद्योगभाजः ॥

[ ३६ ]

( ३ ) जरा इत्यादि । जरा क्षयो दारुणो जराहेतुकत्वात् । कारु शरीरं  
करणशीलत्वात् । पदार्थद्वयं व्याख्याय वाक्यार्थं व्याचष्टे कारु तस्यासीद् इति ॥

१ Ed प्रशमेन (for प्रशयेन). २ C प्रश्रयः प्रकृष्टोऽनाकुलः. ३ B भवतीत्यर्थः. ४ C  
दैवेन प्राकृतेन कर्मणा. ५ Ed विस्तीर्णं.

( ४ ) जरत्कारुः इति जरत् कारु शरीरं यस्येत्यर्थः ॥ ( ८ ) संप्राप्ते परि-  
समाप्ते । कस्मिंश्चिदेव तु संध्यालक्षणे ॥ ( १३ ) पूर्वरूपं इत्यादि । स्वर्ग-  
गतिः मरणम् । तां प्रति पूर्वरूपम् । मरणक्रियायाः प्रथमोत्पत्तिर्बाणप्रहारो  
नाम । नूनं इत्युपेक्षायाम् ॥

[ ३८ ]

( ८ ) क्रोधः अपकारोच्छेदकर्तव्यताबुद्धिरूपः यस्मिन् जाते ज्वालित-  
मिवात्मानं मन्यते ॥ ( ९ ) शमः कोपनीयरञ्जनीयविषयान्मनसो व्यावृत्तिः ।  
क्षमा अपकारे प्रतीकारबुद्ध्यनुत्पादः ॥ ( १३ ) कृपा परदुःखप्रहाणेच्छा ॥  
( १९ ) मृत्युः शरीरं परित्यज्य मनसो गमनम् ॥ ( २४ ) अनुक्रोशात्मता  
कृपाप्रधानता । परितापः अनुचिते कृते किं मया कृतमिति बुद्धिसंतापः ॥  
( २७ ) उद्विग्नमनसैः दुःखितमनसैः ॥ ( ३४ ) वयोतिगः वृद्धः ॥  
( ३८ ) अहं इति चै स इति चै शब्दावहंकारातिशयं द्योतयतः ॥

[ ३९ ]

( ५ ) आशी दंष्ट्रा । तस्यां विषं यस्य ॥

[ ४० ]

( ८ ) वपुष्टमा काशिराजसुता ॥ ( ११ ) वरं श्रेष्ठम् । प्रतीतिरूपं  
प्रख्यातरूपम् । अवरोधं अन्तःपुरम् ॥

[ ४१ ]

( १ ) यत्रसायं अस्तमनं तत्र गृहं स्थितिर्यस्य ॥ ( ४ ) वीरणं  
उशीरम् । आसुः मूषकः ॥ ( ११ ) कामं यथेष्टम् ॥ ( १७ ) तन्तुः  
संततिः ॥ ( २० ) नष्टसंज्ञाः नष्टज्ञानाः ॥ ( २१ ) प्रजायस्व पुत्ररूपेण ।  
( २५ ) तुदन् व्यथयन् ॥

१ Com जात्काररिति. २ C स तथेत्यन्वयः ( for यस्येत्यर्थः ). ३ After this B  
ins अपरेण कलिलक्षणेन. C संध्यालक्षणेन कालेन. ४ Ed दया<sup>०</sup> ( for कृपा<sup>०</sup> ). ५ Ed संविम-  
मानसः. ६ B °मनसाः. ७ B om च. ८ Com from प्रतीतिरूपं up to कामं यथेष्टम्.

[ ४२ ]

( १ ) संदिग्धा अनवधारितविशेषा ॥ ( २ ) दण्डं निग्रहम् । अकु-  
तात्मनः असंस्कृतमनसः ॥ ( ३ ) दिष्ट्या कल्याणम् ॥ ( ४ ) ऊर्ध्वं  
अपतनशीकं रेतो यस्य । प्रापयेयं नयेयम् । अमुत्र जन्मान्तरे ॥ ( ६ ) निवेक्ष्ये  
विवाहयिष्यामि ॥ ( ७ ) न भरेयं न पुष्णीयाम् ॥ ( ८ ) निवेशं  
विवाहम् ॥ ( १६ ) प्रवृत्तिं वार्ताम् ॥ ( १९ ) मोक्षभावः सुमुक्षा ।  
द्वन्द्वीभूतः दुःखीभूतः ॥

[ ४३ ]

( ६ ) शयनं खट्वादि । स्पर्ध्यं वर्षसहम् । आस्तरणं भूमिकादि ॥  
( १० ) श्वेतकाकीयैः प्रसिद्धैः बकचरितैर्वा ॥ ( २० ) प्रादुष्कृतः उद्धो-  
धितः ॥ ( २३ ) विभावसोः सूर्यस्य ॥ ( २५ ) संनिवेशनं गृहम् ॥  
( ३१ ) पर्यश्रुनयना परि सर्वतोऽश्रुपूर्णनयना ॥ ( ३५ ) मोघो निष्फलः ॥

[ ४४ ]

( ७ ) दुःखेन वास्यत इति दुर्वासः ॥ ( ११ ) स्वैरं यदृच्छा ।  
संपरायः परलोकः । तस्मै हितः सांपरायः ॥ ( १३ ) व्येतु व्यपगच्छतु ॥  
( १७ ) प्रजज्ञे पुत्ररूपेण जातः ॥ ( २२ ) हिरण्यदः ज्ञानदः ॥

[ ४५ ]

( ७ ) चातुर्वर्ण्यं चत्वारो वर्णाः ॥ ( ८ ) हन्तव्यबुद्धिः द्वेषः ॥ ( १४ )  
आत्मवा- आत्महितः । मेधावी धारणावान् ॥ ( १५ ) दिष्टान्तं दिष्टेन  
दैवेनान्तो विनाशः ॥ ( १७ ) जातु कदाचिद् ॥ ( २३ ) वयस्थः वृद्धः ॥

[ ४६ ]

( ६ ) स्वेष्टवृद्धेषु यत् करचरणादिषु निवृत्तव्यापारम् ॥ ( ८ )  
स्थविरैः वृद्धैः गुणैरिति शेषः ॥ ( १३ ) यत्तः प्रयत्नवान् ॥ ( ४१ )  
अपचितिः वैरनिर्यातनम् ॥



[ ४७ ]

( १२ ) दीक्षयामासुः व्रतं ग्राहितवन्तः ॥ ( १३ ) उत्पन्नं आसीत् इत्यन्वयः ॥ ( १५ ) सूतः सवनात् । यस्मिन्देहे च काले च विघ्नदेशोपन्यासः (?) शापेनेति ॥ ( १७ ) पर्यक्रामन् पर्यक्रमं अनुकृतवन्तः ॥

[ ४८ ]

( २ ) सदस्याः प्रेक्षकाः ॥ ( १२ ) कुल्या कृत्रिमा सारित् ॥ ( १५ ) आगः अपराधः ॥ ( २० ) कश्मलं मोहः ॥

[ ४९ ]

( ४ ) अविष्टुर्वा सती ॥ ( २५ ) मनोज्वरः चिन्ता ॥

[ ५० ]

( १ ) भारतग्रेय भारतप्रधान । स्वस्तिनोऽस्तु प्रियेभ्यः इत्यात्मै-  
भावोपदर्शनं वासुकिं जनमेजयं सपरिवारमात्मानं चाधिकृत्य । तत्र वासुकेक्षणं  
जनमेजयस्याकृतापराधपन्नगर्हिसार्जनितपापानुत्पत्तिः स्वस्य च विशिष्टपुण्योत्पत्ति-  
रिति स्वस्तिशब्देन विवक्षितम् । एतच्च पूर्वापरयज्ञादि स्तुतिजनितपुण्यफलं  
ममेत्यभिप्रायः ॥ ( ८ ) नैषां ज्ञानं विद्यते ज्ञातुमद्य प्रागेव ज्ञातमित्यर्थः ॥  
( १० ) अभिमुखीकर्तुं अग्निं स्तौति विभावसुः इति । कोऽपि<sup>१</sup> मदभिप्रेत-  
विरोधी माभूदिति । प्रीतीतः अनुकूलः । वष्टि वैहति ॥ ( ११ ) प्रयत्नो  
धृतिः ॥ ( १३ ) प्रभावः दैवानुकूलितं तेजः ॥ ( १४ ) नियतः वशी-  
कृतः ॥ ( १६ ) और्वः<sup>२</sup> वडवानलः । त्रेतां अग्नित्रयी ॥

१ B om from उत्पन्नं up to अनुकृतवन्तः. २ After this C ins क्षेत्राद्वा स्यः  
(?). ३ C reads पर्यक्रमं (?) पर्यक्रमं अत्र (?) कृतवन्तः. ४ Ed अविष्टुर्वा. ५ B भारताद्य.  
C gives भारतामप्य in the margin. ६ C om स्वस्तिनोऽस्तु प्रियेभ्यः. ७ C प्रत्यात्मः.  
८ C अपराधम एवमर्हिसां (?). ९ B विशिष्टजन्मोत्पत्तिरिति. C विशिष्टपुण्योत्पत्तिरिति. १० C  
तेषां. ११ C अभिमुखीकृत्य. १२ C om from कोऽपि up to प्रयत्नो धृतिः. १३ Ed प्रवीतः  
१४ After this B ins अवसादः अवष्टम्भहेतुः. १५ Ed और्वत्रिता (for और्वत्रेता).

[ ५१ ]

( ४ ) विद्विषाणः विद्विषन् ॥ ( ७ ) पुराणं चिरंतनम् । आगम्य समन्तात् ज्ञात्वा ॥

[ ५३ ]

( ४ ) न प्रत्यभात् न प्रतिभासारूढः ॥ ( ६ ) गां चक्रं चान्तरा<sup>१</sup> उर्क्षः रथाङ्गस्य च मध्ये सभय इति यावत् ॥ ( ८ ) सूतः सूत्रधारः ॥ ( १३ ) अवभृथो यज्ञसमाप्तिः ॥ ( २४ ) दिष्टान्तः प्राक्तनस्य क्षयः ॥ ( ३० ) विचक्ष्वै विशेषण कथय ॥ ( ३४ ) कथ्यति कथ्यमाने ॥ ( ३६ ) जुषस्व सेवस्व ॥

[ ५४ ]

( ३ ) इष्टया इच्छया । अवीष्टधत् वर्धितवान् ॥ ( ४ ) नाति नातिक्रामति । प्रसूत्या कुलेन । मन्युना यज्ञेन ॥ ( ५ ) विव्यास पृथक् पृथक् चकार ॥ ( ६ ) गुणवतो दर्शनश्रवणगोचरे वर्तमानैः गृह्यमाणो गुणौघः कीर्तिः । स एव दर्शनश्रवणगोचरेऽवर्तमानैर्गृह्यमाणो यज्ञः इति विभागः ॥ ( ८ ) मेघैः<sup>२</sup> यज्ञैः ॥ ( ९ ) मूर्धावासिक्तः अभिषिक्तः । संस्तरो यज्ञ-वाटः ॥ ( १३ ) कृष्णाय व्यासाय ॥ ( १६ ) प्रतिवेद्य प्रतिव्याप्य ॥ ( १८ ) प्रत्यक्षदर्शिवान् प्रत्यक्षदर्शी । प्रत्यक्षदर्शनः इति वा पाठः ॥

[ ५५ ]

( ३ ) श्रोतृपात्रं श्रोता तात्पर्यावधारणक्षमः पात्रं अधिकारी । अपूर्ष्टं अक्षममिति यावत् । गुरोः व्यासस्य । वक्त्रपरिस्पन्दः<sup>३</sup> वचनं कार्यं कारणोप-चारात् । तेन या मुद् प्रीतिः तया । प्रोत्साहयति प्रयत्नविशेषभाजं करोति ॥

१ C विद्विषाणः विद्वेषकः शत्रुरिति यावत्. २ C ज्ञातत्वात्. ३ C om न प्रत्यभात्. ४ C प्रतिभासारूढः. ५ Ed गोचकस्यान्तरा. ६ b o अस्य. ७ Ed त्वं वै विचक्षणः ( for विचक्ष्व नः ). ८ Ed सूतज ( for कथ्यति ). ९ Ed देवैः. १० C मूर्धाभिषिक्तः. ११ Ed श्रोतुं पात्रं. C om श्रोतृपात्रं श्रोता. १२ C अमृषं (?). १३ Ed वक्तुं परिस्पन्दः. १४ Ed प्रोत्साहनीय.

(७) वीर्य उत्साहः स च प्रयत्नः देशकालपात्रमर्यादानतिक्रमेण उत्साहवृद्धिः ।  
 ओजः सहः ॥ (८) निग्रहः बन्धनादिकम् । निर्नाशः मरणम् ॥  
 (१२) अदंशयत् सर्पैरखादयत् ॥ (१३) विप्रकारः अपकारः ॥  
 (१५) दैवेन प्राक्तनकर्मणां । भावी अर्थः राज्यादिः तस्मै रक्षितान् ॥  
 (४७६\*—५) क्षत्ता विदुरः ॥ (४७६\*—१५) समनुरोधनं प्रकटता ॥  
 (४२) विद्रुतभूयिष्ठं नष्टप्रायम् ॥

[ ५६ ]

(४) अवध्यान् इत्यनेन लोकातीतं प्रभावातिशयं दर्शयति ॥ (६)  
 क्रोधं धृतवान् निरुद्धवान् ॥ (१०) अस्यन् क्षिपन् ॥ (१६) परि-  
 नैष्ठिकी परनिश्चयवती ॥ (२०) पुंसवनं पुमांसः सूयन्तेऽस्मिन् श्रुत इति ।  
 महिषी कृताभिषेका राज्ञी ॥ (२४) अनसूयतां गुणेषु दोषमनारोप-  
 यताम् ॥ (४९५\*) अनेकजननं अनेकाम्यः कृत्तिकादिभ्यो जननमुत्पादः ॥  
 (३२) नित्योत्थितो नित्योर्धुक्तः ॥ (२७) रत्नं जात्यापेक्षया उत्कृष्टम् ॥  
 (४९४\*) नियतं निश्चयेन कृतम् ॥ (२६) विहरता विविधान् देश-  
 कालान् गमयता ॥ (२८) ब्रह्मभूयं ब्रह्मभावम् ॥ (३०) एनः पापम् ॥  
 (२९) श्राद्धं श्रद्धया चरन् ॥ (३३) धर्मे चार्थे च इत्यादि विषयभेदमाह ।  
 चकारास्तत्तदधिकारिभेदं तत्फलभेदं च समुच्चिन्वन्ति । शास्त्रभेदाय यद्वा तद्विरोधि-  
 नं धर्मोऽधर्मश्च अर्थोऽनर्थश्च एवमन्यत्रापि । इह न्यूनाभिधानशङ्कां निरस्यति  
 यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र इति । अन्यत्राधिकाभिधानं शङ्कां निरस्यति यन्नेहास्ति  
 न तत्कचित् इति ॥ इति भारतप्रशंसा ॥

१ C om °पात्र°. २ C om ओजः सहः. After उत्साहवृद्धिः C adds सत्यं तेजो  
 तपो यज्ञस्य पराभिभवशक्तिः. After सहः B adds उपायज्ञस्य (?) पराभिभवशक्तिः. ३ Ed  
 निर्वासान्. ४ B अदंशयन् सर्पैरखादयन्. ५ B प्राक्कर्मणा. ६ B भव्योऽर्थो. ७ C हितत्वात्.  
 ८ C विद्विषः. ९ Ed समनुरोधनात्. १० Ed सदोत्पायी. Mas give a different order  
 of stanzas 24 to 33 from that in Ed. ११ After this Mas add सर्वथा  
 सतामसतां वा वर्तमानो व्यवहारः । कृतैरचितैः । अकृतैरनुचितैः । कृतैरल्पतया न शोच्याः भूयस्त्वात् ।  
 अकृतैश्च नष्टत्वात्. १२ C विवहता. १३ After this Mas ins अर्थं हितोपदेशत्वात् ।  
 श्रुतिवृत्तं कविधर्मोपपन्नत्वात्.

[ ५७ ]

( १ ) राजा रक्षकत्वात् । महीपतिः पालकत्वात् ॥ ( २ ) ग्रह-  
णीयं सिद्धादायम् ॥ ( ६ ) लोक्यं लोकाय हितम् ॥ ( ८ ) स्वारक्ष्यः  
स्वयमारक्षा यस्मिन् ॥ ( १५ ) वैजयन्तीं विजयनिमित्तं । धारयिष्यति पतन-  
प्रतिषेधेन ॥ ( १६ ) लक्षणं चिह्नम् ॥ ( १८ ) प्रवेशः पूजार्थमारो-  
पणम् ॥ ( २० ) अपरेद्युः दिनान्तरे । अत्युच्छ्रयः उत्थापनम् । पिटकैः  
बस्त्रवेष्टितकौपिनकैः ॥ ( २१ ) हासरूपेण<sup>१</sup> क्रीडावताररूपेण । तस्य विशेषणं  
स्वयमेव गृहतिन इति ॥ ( २२ ) देवकृतां देवाय कृतार्म् ॥ ( २३ )  
महं उत्सवम् ॥ ( २६ ) वरदानं एव महायज्ञः ॥ ( २७ ) चेदिः  
दहालैः ॥ ( २८ ) सम्राट् आज्ञया राजशासकः ॥ ( ३२ ) पुरोप-  
वाहिनीं पुरसमीपे वाहिनीं ॥ ( ३६ ) पुंसवने पुंसवनयोग्ये ॥ ( ३९ )  
प्रचस्कन्द प्रपात ॥ ( ४२ ) आरात् समीपे ॥ ( ४९ ) उज्जहुः  
उद्धृतवन्तः ॥ ( ५४ ) दाशाय कैवर्ताय ॥ ( ५५ ) मत्स्यगन्धा  
मत्स्यसदृशगन्धा ॥ ( ५८ ) पारावारे परार्वाक् तीरयोः ॥ ( ७० )  
दर्शयिष्यामि आत्मानमिति शेषः ॥ ( ७२ ) पादापसारी पादात् पादम-  
पसरति ॥ ( ७३ ) ब्रह्मणे वेदस्य कर्त्रे ॥ ( ८२ ) कुन्ती भोजकन्या ॥  
( ८३ ) मातृशः सर्वैर्भृग्यमाणैर्गुणः ॥ ( ८४ ) प्रधीयते कार्यजातमस्मिन्निति  
प्रधानम् ॥ ( ८५ ) आत्मा

यदाप्नोति यदादत्ते यदात्ति विषयानिह ।

यच्चास्य सन्ततो भावस्तस्मादात्मेति कीर्तितः ॥

सत्त्वयोगो ध्रुवाक्षरं सत्त्वयोगो ध्रुवाक्षरे यस्मिन् ॥ ( ८६ ) हंसं सोऽहमित्यव-  
गच्छतीति अथवा देहान्तरं गच्छतीति ॥ ( ९९ ) युयुत्सुः शताधिकः ।  
करणो वैश्यापुत्रः ॥ आदि० संभवे ॥

१ B b यो ( सु ) रक्ष्यः सुखमारक्ष्ये (?) . २ Ed कियते उच्छ्रयः ( for कियतेऽत्युच्छ्रयः ) .  
C अभ्युच्छ्रयः . ३ Ed हासरूपेण . ४ B b देवकृतां देवो रुद्रः . ५ C सहा उत्साहम्  
( corrupt ) . ६ b वरदानमेवमभ्ययज्ञः . ७ C चेदिः भयानकः . ८ Ed आसीन्मत्स्यगन्धेष  
( for आसीन्ता मत्स्यगन्धेष ) . ९ Ed ब्रह्मणो . १० C om कर्त्रे . ११ C सर्वैर्गुह्यमाण<sup>०</sup> . १२  
Ed सत्त्वयोगं ध्रुवाक्षरं . १३ b C हंसः हन्ति अवगच्छतीति(?) .

[ ५८ ]

( ५ ) अभिचक्रमुः स्वर्गतवत्यः ॥ ( ६ ) समापेतुः संगतवन्तः ॥  
 ( ८ ) ऋध्यत वृद्धिं गतवत् । ब्राह्मणोत्तराः ब्राह्मणप्रधानाः ॥ ( १० )  
 आधिः मानसी पीडा । व्याधिः धातुकरणरसवैषम्यम् ॥ ( ११ ) अपाङ्ग इव  
 अपाङ्गः सागरो यस्याः सागरान्तमित्यर्थः । गां पृथ्वीम् । गजेन्द्रगत इति  
 जनमेजयस्य संबोधनम् । अध्यतिष्ठत् अधिष्ठितवान् ॥ ( १४ ) स्वादु  
 इति व्यवहितमपि वर्षेणेति योजनीयं प्रजा अतिभोग्यतयेति शेषः ॥ ( १८ )  
 ब्रह्म वेदः ॥ ( २० ) फेनपांश्च तदा वत्साभं दुहन्ति इति यावद्वत्साः  
 स्वयं न विरमन्ति पानात् तावन्न दुहन्तीत्यर्थः ॥ ( २६ ) आदित्या  
 देवाः ॥ ( ३१ ) अवलिप्ताः साहंकाराः । परीयुः परिगतवन्तः ॥ ( ३४ )  
 धर्षयन्तः पीडयन्तः । वीर्यमदः वीर्यं कायिकी शक्तिः तयो मदः पराभवेच्छा  
 येषाम् । मत्ता विवेकशून्याः ॥ ( ३५ ) भूरिपत्रैः भूरिवैह्वनैः । भूरियत्नैः  
 इति वा पाठः । उपचक्रमे उपतस्थे ॥ ( ३८ ) संवृतं वेष्टितम् ॥ ( ४१ )  
 तत्प्रधानात्मनस्तस्य सा भूरेव प्रधानमात्मनि शरीरे यस्य । पार्थिवशरीरो हि  
 स्वयंभूः ( ४३ ) विभुः व्यापकत्वात् । प्रभव उत्पत्तिहेतुत्वात् । ईशः अहते-  
 च्छत्वात् । शम्भुः कल्याणमस्माद्भवतीति । प्रजापतिः प्रजापालनात् ॥  
 ( ४६ ) तिरोर्धाय अन्तर्धाय ॥ ( ४८ ) तथ्यं सत्यम् । अर्थ्यं अर्थाय  
 हितम् । पथ्यं परिणतिस्वरसम् ॥ ( ५१ ) शोधनाय दोषहानाय ॥ आदि  
 अंशावतरणे ॥

[ ५९ ]

( १ ) संविदं मिथः कथाम् ॥ ( २ ) क्षयान् गृह्णान् ॥ ( ३६ )  
 ब्रह्मलोकप्रभावनाः ब्रह्मैव लोकः ब्रह्म व्यापकत्वाद् लोकः प्रकाशकत्वात् तस्य  
 प्रभावनाः साक्षादर्शिनः ॥ अंशावतरणे ॥

१ Ed तथा. २ Com from वत्साङ्ग up to यावद्वत्साः. ३ B om पानात्. ४ B तेषां. (?) ५ Ed सूर्यं तेः महासुरैः. ६ b पार्थिवशरीरे हि सुखंभूतः. ७ b ईशानेकत्वात् (?) ८ Ed विशेषाय. ९ b Com आदि अंशावतरणे. १० After this b C ins आदि अंशाव-  
 तरणे. Further B C ins सर्वविद्या सिद्धिर्यस्मात्. b ins सर्वविद्यासिद्धिः यस्मात्. ११ Com  
 from ब्रह्मेश up to साक्षादर्शिनः.

[ ६० ]

( ८ ) पतङ्गः सूर्यः ॥ ( ९ ) पुत्रवतां इति स्वार्थे मत्वर्थीयः पुत्राणां वर इत्युक्तं भवति । अथवा बहुपुत्रतया पुत्रवतां वरः ॥ ( १३ ) कीर्तिः देशान्तरे कालान्तरे स्वयमदृष्टाश्रुतजनबुद्धिसमारूढो गुणौघः । लक्ष्मीः धनस्य स्वपरोपयोगसंपादनशक्तिः । धृतिः अवसादहेतुनिपातेऽप्यनवसन्नता । मेघा धारणावती धीः । पुष्टिः करणीये शक्तिसंपत्तिः । श्रद्धा आस्तिक्यबुद्धिः । कृपा परदुःखप्रहाणेच्छा ॥ ( १४ ) बुद्धिः निश्चयः । लज्जा करणीयानिवृत्तिः । मतिः परामर्षज्ञानम् । धर्मस्य देशनालक्षणस्य अर्थस्य मूर्तत्वेऽपि कृतशरीर-ग्रहस्य कीर्त्यादयः कृतशरीरग्रहा एव पत्न्यः । द्वाराणि निमित्तानि ॥ ( १५ ) कालस्य नयने परिवर्तने । नक्षत्रयोगिन्यः असकृदविद्यमानगतिविरोध-संज्ञाः ॥ ( ३१ ) समैः अरिमित्रोदासीनेषु निर्विशेषता । कामः रागः स च सुखानुशायी । हर्षो अनुकूलवेदनीयः । ते एते अमूर्ताश्चापि मूर्तिपरिग्रहात् पुत्रतां गताः ॥ ( ३६ ) त्रयस्त्रिंशत् अष्टौ वसवः एकादश रुद्राः द्वादशादित्याः वषट्कारः प्रजापतिश्चेति । अन्वयः जन्यजनकसन्तानः । पक्षः भागः । कुलं अन्वयः एव परंपराशुद्धः ॥ ( ४१ ) प्राणयौत्रार्थी भोगनिःस्पृहः । वर्षावर्षे भयाभये नियुक्तो ग्रहत्वात् ॥ ( ४३ ) योगः अपूर्वस्योत्पादः । क्षेमः लब्धस्य परिपालनम् ॥ ( ४९ ) ययोः यत्र ब्रह्मणो लक्षणं तिष्ठति इत्यन्वयः ॥ ( ५६ ) कलहंसः पारावतः ॥ ( ६३ ) द्वीपिनः चित्रकाः ॥ ( ६६ ) पिण्डफलाः पनसादयैः ॥ आदि अंशावतारे ॥

[ ६१ ]

( ६१ ) राजपूगः राजसमूहः ॥ आयुक्तकवचो बद्धसन्नाहः ॥ ( ९८ ) सुबलात्मजा गान्धारी ॥ ( १०२ ) प्रभावप्ययौ सृष्टिसंहारौ ॥ आदि अंशावतरणं समाप्तम् ॥

( ६२ )

( ६ ) न कृष्याकरकर्तृ शाल्यादि कृषिं पूगाद्याकरं च न करोति अकृष्ट-

१ Ed क्रिया (for कृपा). २ B om from धर्मस्य up to पत्न्यः. ३ Ed समय. ४ Ed प्राणयौत्रार्थे. ५ C पालाशादयः. ६ Ed नाकृष्यकरकृञ्जनः.

पथ्यत्वात् भुवः ॥ (९) दैवे कर्मणि निःस्पृहाः प्राक्तनकर्मावलम्ब्य नोदा-  
सते किं तु सदा पुरुषकारपराः ॥ (१०) मदवन्ति फलवन्ति । वसुमती  
धनवती भूमिः । वसुमतीति पुनरुक्तवदाभासोऽलंकारैः । रसवती इति वा पाठः ॥  
(११) वज्रसंहननः दृढकायः ॥ (१२) बले पराभिभवे । तेजसा प्रतापेन ।  
अक्षुब्धत्वं गम्भीरता । सहिष्णुता क्षमा ॥ (१४) प्रसन्नः परोक्षेऽपि  
गुणग्राही ।

भूयो धर्मपरैर्भावैर्विदितं जनमावसत् ।

धर्मपरैः अभिप्रायैः पुनः पुनरवधारितं समीपे कुर्वन् नाविदितं नाप्यधार्मिकतया  
विदितम् ॥ आदि शाकुन्तले ॥

[ ६४ ]

(२) ईरिणं ऊषरम् ॥ (३३) पूगयज्ञियां बहुधेष्टा देवास्तेषाम् ।  
संहिता वर्णानामेकप्राणयोगोऽव्यवच्छिन्नः पाठः । पदं सुतिष्ठन्तम् । क्रमः  
द्वयोर्द्वयोः पदयोः सन्धानमपृथक्वर्जम् ॥ (३४) शब्दसंस्कारः लोपागम-  
विकारः प्रकृतिलक्षणः ॥ (३५) न्यायः आन्वीक्षिकी ॥ (३६) समाहारः  
समूहः तस्य समवायः संबन्धः । विशेषकार्याणि अन्यैरशक्यानि ॥ (३७)  
स्थापना प्रतिज्ञा । आक्षेपः चालना । सिद्धान्तः अस्तीत्यभ्युपगमः । एषां  
परमार्थः तत्त्वम् । लोक ऐन्द्रियिकं ज्ञानं तेनैव आयता इति लोकाय-  
तिकाः ॥ आदि० शाकुन्तले ॥

[ ६५ ]

(३१) मतङ्गः त्रिशङ्कुः ॥ (३४) अतिकुद्धः प्रतिसर्ज इत्य-  
न्वयः ॥ आदि० शाकुन्तले ॥

[ ६६ ]

(३) अपोवाह अपसारितवान् ॥ (४) अभिलिङ्गती विलिप्य-

१ After ध्रुवः C ins स्वयमेवोत्पाद्यमानत्वात्. २ Ed फलवन्ति. C om मदवन्ति  
फलवन्ति. ३ After this C ins मदवन्ति. ४ Ed सहिष्णुत्वे. ५ C om क्षमा. ६ B  
om the passage from ईरिणं ऊषरम् up to प्रतिसर्जत्यन्वयः ( Adh. ६५ ). ७ Ed  
गयाक्षिकः < C अभिलिप्सतीति लिप्समानाः .

माना ॥ (५) गृह्णां साकाङ्क्षाम् ॥ (१३) शरीरकृत् शुक्रप्रावकः ।  
प्राणान्ता अभयप्रदः ॥ आदि० शाकुन्तले ॥

[ ६७ ]

(१) सुव्यक्तं इत्युपेक्षायाम् । राजपुत्रीं इव त्वां जाने इत्यर्थः ॥  
(२) परिहाटके केयूरौ ॥ (८) ब्राह्मः वरमाहूय दानम् । दैवः ऋत्विजे  
दानम् । आर्षः गोमिथुनेन दानम् । प्राजापत्यः चर धर्ममिति दानम् ।  
आसुरः द्रव्यं गृहीत्वा दानम् ॥ (९) गान्धर्वः समयान्मियः । राक्षसः  
भित्त्वा छित्त्वा हरणम् । पैशाचः सुप्तायां प्रमत्तायां गमनम् ॥ (११) राज्ञां  
कृताभिषेकाणाम् । पञ्चानां इति निर्धारणे षष्ठी । त्रयाणां धर्मातिशयत्वेन  
गुणेन पृथक्करणम् । प्राजापत्यासुराभ्यां द्वावधर्म्यौ इति ब्राह्मणविषयम् ॥  
(२९) चक्रं रथचक्रम् । समुद्रपर्वतादौ अप्रतिहतम् ॥ (३०) कायकं  
कठिनकं ससिक्थम् ॥ आदि० शाकुन्तले ॥

( ६८ )

( २ ) त्रिषु वर्षेषु इति ग्रहयोगविशेषात् ॥

उदयति मृदुतांशे सप्तमस्थे च सूर्ये  
यदि भवति निषेकः सूतिरब्दत्रयेण ।  
शशिनि तु विधिरेष द्वादशेऽब्दे प्रकुर्या-  
न्निगदितमनुचिन्त्यं सूतिकाले प्रयुक्त्या ॥

औदार्यं दानशीलता ॥ (४) शुक्लैः श्यावादिदोषरहितैः । शिखरिभिः  
शिखरसदृशतीक्ष्णाप्रभाययोगिभिः ॥ (२१) संरम्भः क्रोधः । अमर्षः स  
एव चिरस्थायी ॥ (२४) निःसङ्गं निःसंबन्धम् ॥ (२५) सत्यस्य  
चानृतस्य च मध्ये यत् कल्याणं तत्तु त्वमेव वेद । बत विस्मये । साक्षी  
पक्षपाती चेतनः । मा अवमन्यथाः अवमतेर्मिथ्याज्ञानस्य मा विषयीकुर्याः ॥  
(२७) हृच्छयः कामः । मुनिं पुराणं सनत्कुमारावतारत्वात् ॥ (३०)

१ Ed सुव्यक्तं राजपुत्रीं, C अव्यक्तं. २ Ed विनिश्चय ततो भारं (for निषाय कायकं तच्च).  
३ B reads उदयति मृदुतांशे सप्तमस्थे च मन्दे. ४ B पक्षपाती चेतनं (आत्मानं) मा अवमन्थाः.



निर्यातयति न फलवत्करोति ॥ (३१) चिन्तयति विशेषेण घातयति  
यातनां करोति । दुष्कृतं दुष्टकारिणम् ॥ (३२) न कारणं न प्रमाणम् ॥  
(३४) उपप्रेक्षसि उपप्रेक्षसे ॥ (४२) प्रविविक्तेषु रहस्येषु संस्थिताः ॥  
(४५) प्रेत्य मृत्वा ॥ (६८) जगतीं पृथिवीम् ॥ (६९) अवकीर्य  
त्यक्त्वा ॥ (७२) अनार्ये वक्रे ॥ (७३) निरनुक्रोशा निष्कृपा ।  
बन्धकी असती पूंश्चली ॥ (७६) अश्रद्धेयं अनादरणीयम् ॥ (७९)  
यदृच्छया विधिं विना । कामरागात् विषयरङ्गात् ॥ आदि० शाकुन्तले ॥

[ ६९ ]

(२) उत्कृष्यते अधिकतां याति ॥ (७) इतरं अधरम् ॥ (८)  
विकथनः परनिन्दकः । विहेठकः इति वा पाठः ॥ (११) परिवद-  
परोक्षे निन्दयन् ॥ (१३) दोषानुदर्शिनः दोषदर्शनशीलाः ॥ (१५)  
उत्तास्तिः अस्तिकः ॥ (२०) कपटम् कवचम् ॥ (२५) समयः  
परस्परकृता मर्यादा ॥

(२६) अनृते चेत्प्रसङ्गस्ते श्रद्धधामि न चेत्स्वयम् ।

आत्मनो हन्त गच्छामि त्वादृशे नास्ति संगतम् ॥

चेत् शब्दो यद्यर्थः । अनृते यदि ते तव प्रसक्तिः । द्वितीयः चेत् शब्दो हेतौ ।  
न श्रद्धधामि स्वयं अहम् । यस्मात् अनृतवादिनामित्यर्थादन्वयः । हन्त  
संबोधने । तस्माद् गच्छामि । त्वादृशे आत्मनो मम नास्ति संगतम् ॥  
(२७) ऋतेऽपि त्वयि त्वया विनापि ॥ (२९) भस्त्रा चर्मवातप्रवेशिका ।  
माता भस्त्रेव । यथा भस्त्रा पवनपूरणत्वे च नाभ्यां श्वासनिःश्वासकेशमिवानुभवन्ती  
न धम्यमानसुवर्णकाष्णीयसादिस्वामितां प्रतिपद्यते । तथा माता गर्भधारणवाहन-  
प्रसवादिक्लेशे भाजनमपि न तनयस्वामिनी । पितुः पितृस्वामिकः पुत्रः । तत्र  
हेतुः येन जातः स एव सः । पितैव हि पुत्रकारेण शालिबीजमिव शाल्यङ्कुरा-  
कारेण परिणमते न क्षेत्रम् । तेन पितुः प्राधान्यम् ॥ (३०) रेतोधाः पितृ-

१ Ed निर्यातयति. २ B उपेक्षसि उपेक्षसे. ३ Ed नार्यः. ४ C om विषयरङ्गात्.  
५ Ed उद्विच्यते. ६ Ed विहेठकः. ७ C कलटम् (?). ८ Ed अद्विधासि.

संबन्धि रेतः कायाकारेण परिणतं धत्ते धारयति । उन्नयति ऊर्ध्वं नयति ।  
यमक्षयात् यमसदनार्त् ॥ (३२) अभूतिः विनाशः ॥ (४५) चक्रं  
प्रतापः ॥ (४८) पद्मं कोटिशतम् ॥ (५१) आर्जवं विहितेन मार्गेण  
गमनम् ॥ आदि० शाकुन्तलं समाप्तम् ॥

[ ७० ]

(६) मोक्षं मोक्षहेतुम् । सांख्यं सांख्यशास्त्रम् ॥ (९) दाक्षा-  
यणी वरा अदितिः ॥ (१२) अदीधरन् धारितवन्तः ॥ (१४)  
नाभागारिष्टनाम् दशमो येषाम् ॥ (१६) पिता राष्ट्रदानात् । जनकस्तु  
पिता बुधः ॥ (१९) अनुदर्शयां चक्रे पूज्यराज्यचरितमुवाच ॥ (२१)  
विराट् राजमान्यः । यथावद् विध्यनतिक्रमेण ॥ (२८) प्रियवाससि  
जायायाम् ॥ (३३) शाश्वतीः समाः सार्धकोटिवर्षाणि । आर्लन् आग-  
च्छन् ॥ (३५) साह्यं सहभावः सहायकरणीयमिति यावत् ॥ (४६)  
कालधर्मः विनाशः ॥ आदि० यायाते ॥

[ ७१ ]

(६) आङ्गिरसः बृहस्पतिः ॥ (१३) पूर्ववयाः तरुणः ॥ (१४)  
शीलं स्वभावः शुभा प्रवृत्तिः । दाक्षिण्यं अनुकूलता । माधुर्यं आकृतौ वचसि  
च प्रीतिहेतुना । आचारः सतां वृत्तम् । दमः मनसि वशिता ॥ (१८)  
परवान् पराधीनः ॥ (२३) संशीलयन् प्रीणयन् । प्रेषणं आज्ञासंपाद-  
नम् ॥ (२४) अनुगायमाना अनुगवदाचरन्ती ॥ (२६) शालावृकः  
क्रोधा ॥ (३०) शब्दाप्य आहूय ॥ (३६) मर्त्यं मरणधर्माणम् ॥  
(३८) सब्रह्मचारी समानगुरुः ॥ (३९) अन्तः फलम् ॥ (४८)  
भावय उत्पादय । भावितो जनितः । धर्मवतीमपेक्षां करुणाम् । समीक्षेथाः  
स्मरिष्यसि सांप्रतं विहाय न गमिष्यसि ॥ (४९) शुक्लस्य अर्त्ययो अन्तः

१ C om from यमसदनात् up to कोटिशतम्. After यमसदनात् B ins त्वत्तः इति पञ्चमी. २ C om from पिता राष्ट्रदानात् up to प्रियवाससि जायायाम्. ३ C आदि शर्यानि. ४ Ed परमं (for परवान्). ५ Ed शब्देन. ६ Ed स ब्रह्मचारी. ७ Ed धर्मवतीमपेक्षा. C धर्मपक्षं करुणं (corrupt). ८ B शुक्लस्यात्ययो.

पौर्णमासी । अथवा शुक्लस्य अत्ययो अतिशयेन गमनं पौर्णमासी ॥ (५०)  
 ब्रह्मरार्शि वेदराशिम् ॥ (५१) चतुरन्वयानां चतुर्णां वेदानाम् । अथवा  
 चतुरन्वयानां आन्वीक्षिक्यादीनाम् ॥ आदि० यायाते ॥

[ ७२ ]

( ११ ) सौहार्दे स्नेहे पितृपुत्रादिसाधारणे । अनुरागे रतिजन्मनि  
 शृङ्गारे भर्तृविषये । भक्तिः बाष्पनःकायानां तत्परता ॥ ( १५ ) उत्थिता  
 उद्युक्ता ॥ ( २२ ) सभाज्य पूजयित्वा ॥ आदि० यायाते ॥

[ ७३ ]

( ४ ) वायुभूतः वायुभावापन्नः ॥ ( ८ ) समुदाचारः सदाचारः ॥  
 ( ११ ) लप्स्यसे प्रतियोद्धारं प्राप्स्यसि मदादेशात् प्रतिमन्यं येन त्वं पात-  
 यितव्योसि ॥ ( १२ ) समुच्छ्रयः अहंकारः । सक्ता लग्ना ॥ ( १४ ) युग्यः  
 सारथिः ॥ ( १५ ) उदपानं कूपः ॥ ( १७ ) ध्यायसि शोचसि ॥ ( २२ )  
 अवटः गर्तः ॥ ( २९ ) निष्कृतिः दुष्टकर्मणः कालेन परिशोधनम् ॥

( ३६ ) अचिन्त्यं ब्रह्म निर्द्वन्द्वैमीश्वरं हि बलं मम ।

अनेन स्वबलमीश्वरतया स्तौति । अनिर्वचनीयं व्यापकं अप्रतिपक्षप्रतिहतमिति ।  
 अथवा न राज्ञ इव शस्त्रादिकं किं तु ईश्वरं बलं मम । शेषाणि तस्य विशेषणानि ।  
 नपुंसकत्वमनियमदर्शनात् ॥ आदि० यायाते ॥

[ ७४ ]

( १ ) आतिवादो निन्दा । तितिक्षा सति सामर्थ्ये प्रतिकारबुद्धय-  
 नुत्पादः । सर्वमिदं विषयेन्द्रियजातम् ॥ ( ४ ) क्षमा उत्पन्नेऽपि क्रोधे  
 कार्यानिष्पत्तिः ॥ ( ५ ) तितिक्षायाः फलान्तरमाह यः संधारयते मैन्युं  
 इत्यन्वयः ॥ ( ९ ) बुभूषता इति णिचो लोपात् । तेन विभावयिषतेत्युक्तं

१ B om यायाते after आदि०. २ C प्राप्स्यसि प्रीतेः पन्नं येन (corrupt).  
 ३ Mss निष्कृतिः. ४ C नष्टकर्मणः. ५ Ed निर्द्वन्द्वैमीश्वरं. ६ B यः संधारयति कोपं (?).  
 C यं संधारयत इति पङ्क्तौ (?) यमित्यन्वयः (corrupt).

भवति । शिष्यमिति शेषः ॥ ( १२ ) वाग्दुरुक्तं वाक्कृतं दुरुक्तं ॥ आदि०  
यायाते ॥

[ ७५ ]

( १५ ) संग्रहीत्री धात्री ॥

[ ७६ ]

( ७ ) वां युवाम् ॥ ( १५ ) अनुयुक्तः अनुपृष्ठः ॥ ( १८ )  
संसृष्टं ब्रह्मणा क्षत्रं यौनेन संबन्धेन अत एव ब्राह्मणजातिरपि क्षत्रियेण संसर्ग-  
मर्हतीति देवयान्यभिप्रायः ॥ ( १९ ) तेषां तु ब्राह्मणो वरः इत्यनेन  
तत्कन्यापरिणयनमपरेण क्षत्रियादिना न युक्तमित्याह ॥ ( २० ) पाणिधर्मः  
स्तद्धस्तग्रहणम् । पुंभिः पुरुषान्तरैरसेवितः स त्वया कृतः ॥ ( २५ ) न  
विषहामि न शक्नोमि ॥ ( ३२ ) अहं पापं नुदामि ते इति वरदानबलाद्  
अधर्मोऽपि धर्म इति भावः ॥ आदि० यायाते ॥

[ ७७ ]

( २३ ) भुजिष्या दासी ॥ ( २७ ) राजीवलोचना पद्मेनत्रा ॥  
आदि० यायाते ॥

[ ७८ ]

( २ ) वृजिनं पापम् ॥ आदि० यायाते ॥

[ ७९ ]

( २ ) जरा वयोहानिः । वली श्लथं चर्म । पलितं केशशुक्लता ॥ ( ३ )  
पाप्मानं पापं पापफलत्वात् ॥ ( १९ ) उडुपं तृणकाष्ठादिघटितं संतरणसाधनं  
तेन पुबो गमनं तेन संतारः पारप्राप्तिर्यत्र । न तत्र भविष्यति इत्यन्वयः ।  
भुज्यत इति भोगः पक्वान्मम् ॥ ( २१ ) अकालेऽन्नमादत्ते बालभावात् ।  
अशुचिः अशौचादियुक्तो यथा न प्रजुहोति ॥ ( २३ ) अग्निप्रस्क-

१ C om दुरुक्तं. २ B om संग्रहीत्री धात्री. ३ Edd विषहामि. ४ Edd उडुपल्लव° (for नोडुप°). ५ Edd यत्र. ६ Edd भोजशब्दं.

नपरः अग्नित्यागी ॥ ( २४ ) वरीयान् महत्तमः । पर्यगुः पर्यागतानि ॥  
आदि० यायाते ॥

[ ८० ]

( ३ ) अनुग्रहः दयापूर्वकं दानम् ॥ ( ४ ) आनृशंस्यं अहिंसा ।  
संनिग्रहः अपराधानुरूपो दण्डः ॥ ( ७ ) खिन्नः खेदकारणं भोगाय काय-  
करणव्यापारबाहुल्यं अथवा भोगकालावधिप्राप्तिः ॥ ( २१ ) भवतो युष्मान्  
अनुनयामि अनुनये ॥ आदि० यायातं समाप्तम् ॥

[ ८१ ]

( ११ ) अन्तेषु म्लेच्छेषु ॥ ( १२ ) शिलोज्जः प्रहीणसस्यग्रहणम् ।  
अथवा शिलं प्रहीणवल्लर्यादानं उज्जः पतितस्यादानं तौ शिलोज्जौ वृत्तिः यस्य ॥  
( १५ ) पञ्चाग्निः गार्हपत्याहवनीयदक्षिणाग्न्यौपसदाश्चत्वारः पञ्चमश्चादित्यः ॥  
( १६ ) आवृत्य व्याप्य । रोदसी द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ आदि० उत्तरयायाते ॥ १॥

[ ८२ ]

( ७ ) मन्युः मन्युत्पादको दुर्जनव्यापारः । कारणे कार्योपचारात् ।  
तितिक्षावतः क्रोधानुत्पत्तेः । अथवा तितिक्षावतः क्षमावतः । क्षमावतोऽपि  
क्रोधे तत्कार्याकरणमित्युक्तम् ॥ ( ८ ) अरुः मर्म । न नृशंसवादी हिंसायुक्तं  
न ब्रूयात् । हीनः दोषः । तेन परं नाभ्याददीत न योजयेत् । रुशर्ती अक-  
ल्याणीम् । हिंस्रामिति यावत् । पापलोक्यां पापलोको नरकलोकः तस्मै हिताम् ॥  
( ९ ) अलक्ष्मीकृतमं निःश्रीकृतमम् । निर्ऋतिं राक्षसीम् ॥ ( १० ) अति-  
वादः अधिकवचनम् ॥ ( १२ ) संवननं वशीकरणम् । मैत्री परस्मिन्नात्म-  
भावः । दानं स्वद्रव्यस्य परस्वत्वापादनम् ॥ ( १३ ) सान्त्वं मधुरम् ॥  
आदि० उत्तरयायाते ॥ २ ॥

१ C पर्यगुः पर्यागतानि. २ C प्रहीणमर्यादादानं (for प्रहीणवल्लर्यादानं). ३ Ed तितिक्षतः.  
४ C om from अथवा up to तत्कार्याकरणमित्युक्तम्. ५ C अकर्म (for अरुः मर्म).  
६ C आदि यायाते.

[ ८३ ]

( ३ ) संहृष्टः तुल्यान् । श्रेयसः श्रेष्ठान् । पापीयसः पापतमान् ॥  
 ( ५ ) प्रतिष्ठा प्रकृष्टा स्थितिः ॥ ( ६ ) सद्धर्मविधानगोप्ता वेदरक्षकः ॥  
 ( ७ ) उदीर्णः उद्गतः ॥ ( ९ ) धिष्ठितं लोकाद्विच्छिद्य स्थितम् ॥ ( १० )  
 धृष्णवः प्रगल्भाः ॥ ( ११ ) बलहा इन्द्रः ॥ ( १२ ) आवपनं बीज-  
 वपनम् ॥ आदि० उत्तरयायाते ॥ ३ ॥

[ ८४ ]

( २ ) वयः कालसंबन्धः । जन्म जातिः ॥ ( ४-५ ) ययातिरष्ट-  
 कवचनमङ्गीकृत्य स्वाभिप्राय एव पुरुषं पापेन पुण्येन च योजयतीति प्रतिकूलं  
 इत्यादिना जीवन् इत्यन्तेन श्लोकद्वयेनाह ॥ ( ४ ) प्रतिकूलं इति । कर्मणां  
 मध्ये प्रतिकूलं कर्म पापमाहुः इत्यन्वयः । प्रतिकूलत्वं च कर्मणः प्रतिकूलवेद-  
 नीयदुःखजनकत्वात् । अप्रवणे विरोधिनि । आत्मन इति विशेषः । पापलोके  
 पापलोको नरको यस्याः । सन्तो नानुवर्तन्ति चैतद्यथा तथा एषां असतां  
 आत्मा स्वभावः अनुकूलवादी इत्युपलक्षणम् । अनुकूलकारी च ॥ ( ५ )  
 धनं धनफलं सुखम् । विपुलं संख्यातः । महत् परिमाणात् । अभूद् इति  
 लुङ् । तस्मादैवाधीनतामाह । विशिष्टं चेष्टमानो लब्धास्मि तत् ॥

( ६-११ ) अभिप्रायस्य दैवाधीनत्वं न पुरुषाधीनत्वमिति नानाभावा  
 इत्यादिना वर्जयाम्यग्रमत्त इत्यन्तेनाह ॥ ( ६ ) भावः मतिर्वा इच्छा वा ।  
 चेष्टा पुरुषपरिस्पन्दः । अधिकारः कार्यकारित्वम् । तद् नष्टं येषु । न विहन्येत  
 रागद्वेषाभ्यामात्मा न हन्तव्य इति शिक्षयति ॥ ( १० ) प्रकृतिभजनं लयः ॥  
 ( १२ ) क्षेत्रज्ञः परमात्मा ॥ ( १८ ) दूरस्थितं प्रति प्लुतप्रयोगः ॥ ( २१ )  
 देशिकं व्यपदेशारम्भं । अपाङ्गः अन्तः ॥

१ C om from सद्गुरुः up to बीजवपनम्. २ Ed विष्ठितं. ३ Ed धृष्णुमः. ४ Ed  
 पापलोक्यम्. ५ C यस्य. ६ C om सन्तः. ७ B सतः. ८ b om न पुरुषाधीनत्वम्. ९ Ed  
 प्रकृतिं भजन्ते. C om from प्रकृतिभजनं up to प्लुतप्रयोगः. १० C देशिकं उपदेशारम्भम्.

[ ८५ ]

( १ ) कार्तयुगं कृतयुगम् ॥ ( २ ) स्वजनहितः स्वजनीयः ॥  
 ( ४ ) बलाशनाः काकाः । क्षीणि क्षयं गतेऽपि देहे । पुत्रपौत्रादिबहुप्रकारैः ।  
 बहुधा बहुप्रकारम् । यद्वा पतितदेहप्रभवबहुप्रकारकृमिरूपेण वृद्धिं व्रजन्ति । त  
 एव हि स्वर्गच्युतास्तत्तत्प्रकारदुःखप्रददुःकृतपरिपाकोपनीततत्तत्कृमिशरीरमधि-  
 ष्ठाय युगपद्दुःखमनुभवन्तीति केचिदाचार्याः ॥ ( ५ ) दुष्टं दोषवत् । गर्हणीयं  
 अदुष्टमपि गर्हितम् । यथा पितृभ्यो दत्तमदुष्टमपि कथं गर्हयन्ति दाक्षिणात्याः ॥  
 ( ६ ) कथं किंप्रकाराः । कथं केन प्रकारेण । सुखेन दुःखादिकं । आवहन्ति  
 धारयन्ति । भूमेरिदं भौमम् । नरकं कथं व्रजन्ति । देशान्तरादिवत् देशान्तरं  
 पद्भ्यां तत्र वा जन्म लभन्त इति वा प्रश्नार्थः ॥ ( ७ ) ऊर्ध्वदेहाद् उत्सर्ग-  
 देहात् । कर्मणः शुभाशुभात् । जृम्भमाणार्द् वि कुर्वाणात् । आतिवाहिकं देहं  
 प्रतिपद्य वियन्मार्गेण पतित्वा पृथिव्यां योनिजं देहमासाद्य व्यक्तं अस्मादादिदृश्यं  
 यथा भवति । अनु देहत्यागानन्तरं संचरन्ति । अयमेव भूमौ जन्मग्रहो भौम-  
 नरकगमनमित्युत्तरार्थः ॥ ( ८ ) पतद्भिरज्ञातं पतनकालं संख्यातुमाह षष्टि  
 सहस्राणि इति ॥ ( ९ ) यत् यस्मात् एनसः पापात् । कथंभूता गृहीताति-  
 वाहिकदेहा वा गर्भभूता भवन्ति इति प्रश्नार्थः ॥ ( १० ) असं शोणितम् ।  
 रेतः शुक्रम् । तदेव यथासंख्यं पुष्पं फलं च । अनु विसर्गानन्तरम् । गच्छति  
 प्रविशति इति यावत् ॥ ( ११ ) न केवलं जरायुजभावमापद्यते उद्भिज्जादि-  
 भावमपीत्याह वनस्पतींश्च । इत्युत्तरार्थः ॥ ( १२ ) गर्भे च निवेश्यज्ञानस्य  
 अन्यद् आतिवाहिकं वपुर्निर्दधाति निक्षिपति । गर्भे शुक्रशोणितपरिणामे स्वेन  
 कामेन स्वेच्छया लिङ्गशरीरमेव याति ॥ ( १३ ) शरीरस्य देहनं देहा-  
 पचयः तस्य अतिसमुच्छ्रयः ततोऽपि वृद्धिः । अथ वा शरीरं च देहाति-

१ Ed स्वजनो यः. २ Ed क्षीणा. ३ C द्रव्य. ४ After this Mss. ins कर्मजाः  
 योनिजाः. ५ Ed आभवन्ति. ६ Ed ऊर्ध्वं देहात्. ७ C अग्निदेहात् ( for उत्सर्गदेहात् ). ८  
 C दृष्टमाणात् ( for जृम्भमाणात् ). ९ C दृष्ट. १० Mss अनुवाहिकदेहत्यागानन्तरं (?).  
 ११ After this B ins अनु विसर्गानन्तरं पृक्तं संबद्धं अन्येति आतिवाहिकदेहानन्तरं गच्छति  
 प्रविशतीति यावत्. १२ Mss यतो. १३ Ed विदधाति ( for निदधाति ). १४ b स्नेह  
 उपचयः (?) C देह उपचयः (?). १५ Ed °देहाविसमुच्छ्रयः. C °समुच्छ्रयः.

समुच्छ्रयः च । समाहारत्वादेकवचनम् । संज्ञा ज्ञानम् ॥ ( १४ ) शुक्र-  
शोणितपरस्परसंयोगक्रियाजनको वायुः । समुत्कर्षति अन्तर्भावे च कारितार्थ-  
स्तेनोत्कर्षयति वर्धयतीत्यर्थो गम्यते । गर्भस्य कुक्षिगतस्य शरीरस्य योनिः  
कारणं शुक्रशोणिते । कृताधिकारः कृतकार्यारम्भः । क्रमेण परिपाठ्यो ।  
कारणस्य शुक्रशोणितस्य वृद्ध्या कार्यस्य गर्भस्य वृद्धिरित्यपौनरुक्त्यम् ॥  
( १५ ) स शुक्रशोणितसंयोगाद् जायमानः शरीराकारेण प्रादुर्भवन् । विशे-  
षेण गृहीतमात्रो गृहीतेन्द्रियः । षड् बुद्धीन्द्रियमनोजन्येषु ज्ञानेषु निष्ठा तात्पर्य  
यस्य ॥ ( १६ ) भावः अभिप्रायो ज्ञानरागादिः । उपचिर्तिं समृद्धिम् ।  
महान् व्यापक आत्मा यस्य ॥ ( १७ ) संस्थितः मृतः । निघृण्यते  
अश्मादौ विना चैतन्येन । आत्मैना देहेन ।

भूतात्मा चेन्द्रियात्मा च य एकः पञ्चधा स्थितः ।

इति देहेऽप्यात्मशब्दप्रयोगात् । इति प्रश्नार्थः ॥ ( १८ ) निष्ठानित्वा  
कृजित्वा । अनुसारी पथनमनुसरणशीलः ॥ ( १९ ) विवक्षा संदेहः ॥  
( २२ ) तथा हि तपः स्वधर्मवृत्तित्वम् । दानं स्वद्रव्यस्य परस्वत्वापत्ति-  
पर्यन्तं व्यापारः । अथ वा अभयदानम् । यज्ञः कृतव्याख्यानम् । दमो  
विषयात्प्रत्याहृतस्य मनसः तत्त्वे यथेष्टविनियोगयोग्यता । यथा दान्तो बलीवर्दो  
हलशकटादिवहनयोग्यः । द्वीः अकार्यप्रवृत्तिनिरोधको मनोधर्मः । आर्जवं  
विहितेन पथा गमनम् । अनुकम्पा परदुःखप्रहाणेच्छा ॥ ( ८६१\* ) सप्त  
द्वाराणि निमित्तानि निदर्शनानि उदाहरणानि च स्वर्गस्य । तथा हि यदि  
कश्चिज्जिज्ञासते कीदृशः स्वर्ग इति स तपःप्रभृतीनां यथोक्तलक्षणोदाहरणेन  
प्रबोधनीयः ॥ ( २२ ) मानेन अहंकारेण । पुंसः पुमांसः ॥ ( २३ )  
ब्रह्म वेदः ॥ ( २७ ) मानसमार्गो ज्ञानं तेन रुद्धं आच्छादितम् । तेजसः  
चैतन्यस्य ॥ आदि० उत्तरयायाते ॥ ४ ॥

[ ८६ ]

( १ ) कथं इति चरणविशेषणम् । आचार्ये गुरौ च कर्मेत्यनेन आचार्य-

१ b प्रतिपाद्य (?). २ Ed विष्टुहीतिगात्रः. ३ Ed षड्ज्ञाननिष्ठागतनः ( for षड्ज्ञाननिष्ठः ).  
४ B b निष्टुहने. ५ Ed आत्मानं. B b om आत्मना देहेन. ६ Ed शमः ( for यशः ). ७  
Ed मानसमानभक्तं. ( for मानसमार्गरुद्धं ). C मार्गो अज्ञानं तेन. ८ Ed तेजसं.



कर्मो ब्रह्मचारी दर्शितः । यस्मिन् परलोकमार्गे बहूनि साधनानि । शुं  
कल्याणं प्रति ॥ (२) अचोद्यो गुरुकर्मणि अन्यैर्नाप्रेर्यः ॥ (३)  
उपनिषद् रहस्यम् ॥ (४) स्ववीर्यं स्वप्रयत्नतः । न परेण कुण्डिका-  
दिकं संग्राहयति इत्यर्थः । वृजिनं पपम् ॥ (५) विगृहो विगतगृहः ।  
प्लवुः अपरिच्छदः ॥ (६) राज्या इव राज्या ब्रह्मण्येकाग्रतया । यथा  
या निशा सर्वभूतानां तस्यां जागर्ति संयमी ।  
एकाग्रतया रात्रितया प्रवृत्तिहेतून् गुणान्दर्शयति । अभिजिता लोका अनव-  
लोकनेन निराकृताः । कामा विषयाः । सुखं वैषयिकम् । तामेव रात्रिं  
प्रयतेत तामेव रात्रिं उत्पादयितुं प्रयत्नवान् भवेदित्यर्थः ॥ (१२) अगोत्र-  
चरणः कुलशाखाव्यपदेशशून्यः । कौपीनं गुह्यमङ्गम् ॥ (१५) असितं  
अवद्धम् । सितकर्मस्थं शुक्लकर्मस्थं ॥ आदि० उत्तरयायाते ॥ ५ ॥

[ ८७ ]

(१) अर्चिरादिमार्गगामित्वाद् यतीनां सूर्यः पितृयाणमार्गगामित्वाद्  
वानप्रस्थानां चन्द्रो दृष्टान्तः ॥ (२) कामवृत्तेषु इच्छाचारिषु । संयतो  
विधिमाचरन् ॥ (३) अप्राप्य दीर्घमायुः मर्त्यत्वात् । प्राप्तो रोगादिभिः  
विकृतिं विपरीतानुष्ठानम् ॥ (४) न विद्यते अर्थे प्रयोजनं बुद्धिर्यस्य सः  
अनर्थबुद्धिः फलाभिसंधिरहित इत्यर्थः । अत एव धने सति तस्मिन् अस्वामी ।  
सामर्थ्ये सत्यपि अनीशः आग्रहाभावात् । आर्जवं विहितो मार्गः । समाधिः  
धर्मचिन्ता । आरादूरे याति गच्छति पापमस्माद् आर्यः । तस्य भावः आर्यम् ॥  
(६) विप्रकीर्णो विक्षिप्तः । त्वरन्ति कारितलोपे त्वरयन्तीत्यर्थः । ब्रह्मणा  
इति कर्तृविभक्तिश्रवणात् । स्थापिता इत्यध्याहृत्य लोकपाला इति संबन्ध-  
नीयम् ॥ (८) क्षेत्रज्ञं उत्पत्तिभूमिज्ञातारम् ॥ (१०) अमित्रान् शत्रून्  
दुःखं साहयति भोजयतीति अमित्रसाहः ॥ (११) अब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणसदृशः

१ Ed अस्मिन्. २ Ed संप्रति (for शे प्रति). ३ Ed गुरुकर्मस्वबोधः (for गुरु-  
कर्मण्यबोधः). b अनेद्यः गुरुकर्मणि. ४ After this B b ins अय वा उच्य (?) उपालभ्यः.  
५ B b ग्रहणम्. ६ C स्ववीर्यं सुप्रशंसा... ७ B C कल्कादिकं. ८ Ed नपृष्ठः. ९ Ed  
अस्वोऽप्यनीशः (for अस्वाम्यनीशः). १०-Ed ब्राह्मणा (for ब्रह्मणा).

\* Bhagavadgītā II, 69]

क्षत्रियादिः ॥ (१२) कृपणो दीनः । अत्राक्षणी<sup>१</sup> क्षत्रियाणी । जातु कदाचित् । दीना सती न जीवेद् इत्यन्वयः ॥ (१४) एकैकस्मिन्क्षेत्रे आचन्द्रतारकं भोग्ये यदि सप्त सप्त दिनानि तिष्ठसि तथाप्यनन्तास्ते । मध्विव मधु प्योतन्तीति क्षरन्तीति मधुच्युतः । घृतस्य बह्वयः कुल्यौ येषु । प्रतिपालयन्ति प्रतीक्षन्ते ॥ (१७) अपूर्वं विवृणोति न कृतं यदन्यैः इति ॥ उत्तरयायाते ॥ ६ ॥

[ ८८ ]

( ४ ) शिशोर्भावः शिशुकम् । अवधौ पञ्चमी शैशवमवधौकृत्यं । एवं कृते पापं किं नु स्यादिति शङ्कमानो विकल्पमानो न चैव कुर्यामकृतपूर्वमन्यैः । तत्र तस्मिन्विषये । साधु शोभनम् । विधित्समानो विधातुमिच्छन् । असाधुः अविवेकी भूत्वा किमिदं कुर्यामिति निषेधः । किं आक्षेपार्थत्वात् ॥ ( ७ ) परीप्समानान् याचमानान् । विद्युत इव रूपं रिपुभिर्दुर्निरीक्ष्यं येषाम् । स्वनवन्तः ख्यातिमन्त इति यावत् ॥ ( १३ ) विशिखौ इव बाणा इव अतिवेगवस्वात् ॥ ( १९ ) द्वीः एवाकार्यप्रवृत्तौ निषेधो यस्य ॥ ( २१ ) मामकेभ्यः आत्मीयेभ्यः । प्रकाशः प्रकटः ॥ ( २२ ) प्रस्थः प्रस्थाख्यः मानविशेषः । बध्वा इव बध्वा सुखसाध्यां कृत्वेति यावत् । अथवा पक्षे (?) मार्गे तिष्ठतीति प्रस्थः । साधु बध्वेव बध्वा तद्वशीकृत्वेति यावत् । मेघ्यान् यज्ञीयान् । पुण्यं भाजयन्तीति पुण्यभाजः । मां पुण्यं प्रापयन्तीत्यर्थः ॥ ( २३ ) अर्बुदं संख्याविशेषः ॥ उत्तरयायातं समाप्तम् ॥

[ ८९ ]

( १६ ) विप्रतस्थे विशेषेण प्रकाशितमभूत् ॥ ( २५ ) चितिः<sup>१</sup> चयनम् । यूपं पशुबन्धनकाष्ठम् ॥ ( ३७ ) तं वसिष्ठम् ॥ ( ३८ ) समा संवत्सरम् । अष्टमी अष्टानां पूरणी । उष्टं उषितवन्तं अष्टवर्षाणि स्थित-

१ Ed अत्राक्षणी. २ Mss मधुच्युतः. ३ Ed घृतपूका ( for घृतकुल्या ). ४ b अचरो पञ्चमी पेशाचमवधौकृत्य ( corrupt ). ५ Ed विधित्समानः. ६ After this O ins नाति-  
पुष्टोसि न प्रश... न श.....मीति यावत्. ७ b अतिवेगवस्वात्. ८ b स्वकार्यप्रवृत्तौ ( ? ).  
९ Ed चेत्यं. १० O om तं वसिष्ठम्.

मिति यावत् । ओम् इत्यनुमतौ ॥ ( ३९ ) विषाणभूतं गोरिव प्रभूतम् ॥  
 ( ४० ) बलिं करं बिभ्रति धारयन्ति इति बलिभृतः ॥ ( ४६ ) अन्ववायो  
 वंशः ॥ वंशानुकीर्तनं समाप्तम् ॥

[ ९० ]

( १ ) उदारा दातारः ॥ ( ३ ) आजननं वंशानुकीर्तनम् ॥  
 ( ५ ) गुणाः क्षमादयः । प्रभावः अचिन्त्या शक्तिः यथा बन्ध्याः अपि  
 फलन्तिः तरवः । सत्यपि विघ्ने प्रारब्धकर्मापरित्यागो वीर्यम् । ओजः पराभि-  
 भवे सामर्थ्यम् । सत्त्वं रजस्तमोभ्यामनाच्छादितः सत्त्वगुणः । उत्साहो वीररस-  
 प्रकृतिरुद्योगविशेषः ॥ ( ११ ) त्रीन् मेधान् मेधसंज्ञया यज्ञः प्रसिद्धः तेन  
 त्रीन् यज्ञान् अश्वमेधपुरुषमेधगोमेधाख्यानान् ॥ ( १२ ) सूर्योदय उदयपर्वतः ॥  
 ( ३१ ) भस्त्रा चर्ममय आधारविशेषः । तेन माता धारयत्येव परं न पुत्र-  
 स्वामिनी । पितुः पुत्र इति षष्ठी पितृस्वामिकं पुत्रं दर्शयति । तत्र हेतुः येन  
 जातः स एव स इति ॥ ( ३२ ) रेतः कायाकारेण परिणतं दधातीति  
 रेतोधाः । ऊर्ध्वं देवलोकं नयतीति उन्नयति । यमक्षयात् यमगृहात् ॥  
 ( ३६ ) मापयामास मानं कृतवानित्यर्थः ॥ ( ४८ ) करस्पर्शमात्रेण सम्यक्  
 नवां तनुं करोतीति शतनुः ॥ ( ९६ ) वंशकीर्तनतात्पर्यमाह धन्य इत्यादि ।  
 चतुःशास्त्रीयं भारतं नाम । तत्रार्थिनं प्रति अर्थशास्त्रमित्याह धन्य इति । धन-  
 मुत्पादयितुं साधु विहितोपायप्रकाशकत्वात् । धर्मार्थिनं प्रति धर्मशास्त्रमित्याह  
 पुण्य इति । विहितानां पुण्यहेतूनां प्रकाशकः । काममोक्षलक्षणमुख्यपुरुषार्थहेतु-  
 त्वेन पुरुषार्थत्वेनोपचरितौ धर्मार्थौ तत्प्रतिपादकत्वाच्च धर्मशास्त्रमिदमिति ।  
 प्रतिपाद्यकाममोक्षोपायप्रतिपादकत्वेन काममोक्षशास्त्रमिदमित्याह परमः पवित्र  
 इति । परमत्वं फलवत्त्वात् । द्वावपि हि काममोक्षौ प्रीतिरूपौ साधनापेक्षया परमौ  
 पवित्रौ मुख्यव्यङ्गत्वात् । एतावांस्तु विशेषः कामकार्यत्वात् देशकालस्वरूपैरव-  
 च्छिन्नः । मोक्षस्तु कार्यत्वाच्चैरनवच्छिन्नः । अतस्तत्प्रतिपादकत्वात् कामशास्त्र-  
 मिदम् । तत्र श्रवणाधिकारिणो निरूपयति ब्राह्मणैः इति । नियमनः शौच-

१ Ed त्रीन् अश्वमेधान् . C om from त्रीन् मेधान् up to आधारविशेषः २ b मोक्षस्थ°.

सन्तोषतपःस्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानवान्निः । शूद्रैः तु ब्राह्मणान्तरितं यथा भवति  
तथा श्रोतव्यम् । ब्राह्मणं पुरस्कृत्य श्रोतव्यमित्यर्थः ॥ ( 909\* ) श्रावणे तु  
ब्राह्मणस्यैवाधिकार इत्याह विशेषतः श्रावयिष्यन्ति इति ॥ पुरुवंशानु-  
कीर्तनम् ॥

### [ ९१ ]

( १ ) इक्ष्वाकुवंशप्रभवो राजासीत् इत्यादेः

( अ० ९४—९४ ) स्वच्छन्दमरणं तस्मै ददौ तुष्टः स्वयं पिता ।  
इत्यन्तं विशिष्टां पितृभक्तिं भक्तिफलं च प्रतिपादयति ॥ ( ६ ) अपघ्यातो  
निन्दितः ॥ ( ८ ) धैर्यं रागादिभिरवसादप्राप्तस्य उत्तम्भनहेतुर्मनोधर्मः ॥  
( ९ ) कश्मलो मोहः ॥ ( १० ) काञ्चित् कौमप्रश्ने ॥ ( १८ ) नचिर-  
कालं यथा भवति । निष्कृतिः उद्धारः ॥ ( २० ) तुर्यस्यै चतुर्थस्य अर्धं  
अष्टमो भागः ॥

### [ ९२ ]

( ६ ) असवर्णा असमानवर्णार्थम् ॥ ( ७ ) वक्तव्या विषादयोग्या ॥  
( ८ ) निवर्तितमेव निर्वृत्तं कारितलोपात् ॥ ( १४ ) मीमांसेत विचारयेत् ॥  
( १८ ) शान्तस्य उपशान्तमनसः उपशान्तान्तःकरणस्य वै ॥ ( 930\* )  
हावः श्रृङ्गारजो भावः ॥ ( ४१ ) लास्यं सुकुमारं नृत्यम् ॥ ( ४८ )  
जीर्णः हानिं गतः ॥ ( ५१ ) धात्री गर्भधारयित्री ॥ ( ५४ ) आपवस्य  
वसिष्ठस्य ॥ ( ५५ ) पर्यायेण समयक्रमेण वासः ॥

### [ ९३ ]

( १५ ) सु शोभनं आपीनं ऊधो यस्याः । बाला धीयन्तेऽस्मिन्निति

१ Ed तुष्टः पिता स्वयम् ( for तुष्टः स्वयं पिता ). २ After this C ins तुष्टः प्रसूतः.  
३ Ed तुरीयार्धं ( for तुर्यस्थार्धं ). ४ B b सवर्णा समानवर्णा. ५ C वक्तव्या उ(अ)पवादास्पदाय.  
६ Ed मयातिवृत्तं ( for मया निवृत्तं ). ७ After this B b ins मन्त्रस्य ये व्यक्ताः प्रष्टव्याः  
वर्णमधुरम् ( corrupt ). C ins अनुयोक्तव्या वर्णं मधुरम्.

बालाधिः पुच्छम् ॥ (३८) न प्रजास्यति न पुत्रभावेन जनयिष्यति ॥  
(४६) द्युतिमान् कान्तिलक्षणगुणवान् । अथ वा द्युतिः आख्यातिः तद्वान्  
ख्यातिमानित्यर्थः ॥

[ ९४ ]

(४) कम्बुः शङ्खः । कम्बुग्रीवेव ग्रीवा यस्य रेखात्रयशालिनी ॥  
(७) भारतं भरतवंशप्रभवं प्रति विशेषेण गोप्तारम् ॥ (८) ब्रह्मं ब्राह्मणः  
उत्तरं अधिकम् ॥ (१०) पुटभेदने पुरे ॥ (१४) धर्मः च ब्रह्म च  
उत्तरे अधिके यत्र ॥ (१७) सत्यं श्रिता वागभवत् ॥ (२०)  
सुनिष्णातः सुशिक्षितः ॥ (४१) अनिर्देश्यं अशब्दगोचरम् ॥ (५२)  
शरीरजेन अङ्गजेन कामेनेत्यर्थः ॥ (५६) मा माम् ॥ (६०) अग्नि-  
होत्रादिको राशिः ऋग्वेदादिव परः । सन्तानः चापरः । एषां त्रयाणां समा-  
हारः त्रयी । त्रयीमभ्यादपत्यं गुणेर्निर्धारयति पृथक्करोति सर्वाण्येतानि इति ॥  
(६१) एतामेव त्रयीं स्तौति एषा त्रयी इति । पुराणानां ब्रह्मविष्णुमाहेश्वराणा-  
मेव । शाश्वती नित्या एषा त्रयी इत्यन्वयः ॥ (६६) अस्यां कन्यायां  
जातः पुत्रो राजा भवत्विति वरं प्रार्थना कन्यापितुः । कन्यामुद्दिश्य शशंस ॥  
(७०) संबन्ध एव सांबन्धः स्वार्थे तद्धितः ॥ (७१) आर्यस्य उपरि-  
चरस्य । तेन उपरिचरन् ॥ (७२) सत्यवतीं वोढुमर्हः उचिर्तः इत्य-  
न्वयः ॥ (७७) तद्युक्तं तस्मिन् युक्तम् ॥ (८२) कौमारिकाः कुमार-  
संबन्धिनः ॥ (९३) सर्वान् भीषयति इति भीष्मः ॥

[ ९५ ]

(१) ततो विवाहे निर्वृत्ते इत्यादिना

(१०) अन्ताय कृत्वी गन्धर्वो दिव्यमन्त्रज्ञः ततः ।

१ b केतुः (?) शंखः. २ b om पुरे. ३ Ed स निष्णातः (for सुनिष्णातः). ४  
After this b ins धरिताव (??). ५ Ed अग्निहोत्रं त्रयो वेदा यज्ञाश्च सहवस्त्रिणाः (for अग्नि-  
होत्रं त्रयी विद्या संतानमपि चाक्षयम्). ६ Ed संबन्धकं. ७ C आर्यस्य उपचरितस्य (?) तेन  
उपरिचरणे. ८ B b वोढुमहमुचितः (?). ९ B b om तद्युक्तं. १० After this Mas  
ins अनेन दुष्करेण कर्मणा कस्य लोकान् ग्रहीष्यतीति. ११ B b अत्ययं नीत्वा (for अन्ताय कृत्वा)

इत्यन्तेनातिशयस्याहंकारस्य फलमल्पायुस्त्वं असन्ततित्वं च दर्शयति ॥

( ११ ) तस्मिन्नृपातेऽहं निहते भूरिवर्चसि ।

इत्यादिना

( अ० ९६—५९ ) ऋत्विग्भिः सहितो भीष्मः सर्वैश्च कुरुपुङ्गवैः ।

इत्यन्तेन क्षियामतिव्यसनस्यानर्थहेतुत्वमाह ॥

[ ९६ ]

( ३ ) वरं जामातरम् । स्वयं आत्मना वृण्वानां वरयन्त्य इत्यन्वयः ॥

( १५ ) आमुश्चतां बन्धताम् ॥ ( १७ ) तात्कालिकः क्रोधः । कालान्तरा-  
वर्ती स एव अमर्षः ॥ ( २६ ) जघने कठ्याः पैश्वाद्भागे ॥ आदि०  
विचित्रवीर्यविपत्तिः ॥

[ ९७ ]

( १ ) ततः सत्यवती दीना कृपणा त्रगृद्धिनी ।

इत्यादिना

( अ० १००—३० ) जज्ञिरे देवगर्भाभाः कुमारा वंशवर्धनाः ।

इत्यन्तेन सन्तानस्यावश्यकरीयतामाह ॥ ( १ ) दीना दुःखिनी क्षीणपुल-  
त्वात् । कृपणा कृपापात्रं भर्तृपुत्रहीनत्वात् ॥ ( ४ ) आयुः षाट्कौशिकलिङ्ग-  
शरीरस्थूलशरीरसंयोगावच्छिन्नः कालः ॥ ( ५ ) समासेन संक्षेपेण । इतरेण  
विस्तरेण ॥ ( ११ ) मा निमज्जीः इति कारितलोपाद् मा निमज्जयेत्यर्थः ॥  
( १४ ) शुल्कं मूल्यम् ॥ ( १७ ) धूमकेतुः अग्निः ॥ ( २४ ) मा  
नीनर्शः मा नाशय ॥

[ ९८ ]

( ५ ) लोकस्यै इति विभक्तिव्यत्ययात् लोकेन पुरोहितादिना । क्षत्रि-

१ Ed. वृण्वतीः. २ After this B ins [ २६ ] वाशिना हेतोः वाशितान्तरे गोरूपस्त्री-  
निमित्तम् (?). b ins वासिताहेतोः वासितान्तराणां रूपस्त्रीनिमित्तम्. ३ C प्राणगृद्धिनी. ४ Ed  
कुरुवंशविषयनाः (for कुमाराः वंशवर्धनाः). ५ C om from कृपणा upto हीनत्वात्. ६ Ed  
व्यनीनशः. ७ Ed लोकेऽप्याचरितो वृष्टः (for लोकस्याचरितो धर्मः).

यासु क्षत्रियाणां पुनर्मवः पुनरुत्पादः । अयमेव धर्म आचरितः । पाषि-  
ग्राहस्य उद्वोदुः ॥ (७) अन्वपद्यते अनुगतवान् ॥ (८) अन्तः  
कुक्षौ वर्तते गर्भो यस्याः सा अन्तर्वर्तिनी । अन्तर्वर्त्नी इति वा पाठः ।  
आरम्यतां विरम्यतामिति ॥ (११) कामात्मानं कामप्रचुरम् ॥ (१५)  
दीर्घं तमः प्रवेक्ष्यसि अन्धो भविष्यसीति ॥

[ ९९ ]

(३) आसज्जमानर्यो ताल्वादिस्यानेष्वलङ्घ्यता ॥ (१९) अर्थ-  
मर्थानुबन्धं धर्मं धर्मानुबन्धं कामं कामानुबन्धं इति सजातीयानुबन्धः ।  
विपरीता- विजातीयान् बन्धान् । अर्थो धर्मकामाभ्यां धर्मः कामार्थाभ्यां  
कामोऽर्थधर्माभ्यामनुबन्धः । पृथग् इति धर्मार्थकामाः प्रत्येकं केवला एव ॥  
(२३) प्रस्नवः स्नेहात्स्तन्यस्यन्दनम् ॥ (१५) शाधि शिक्षय ॥ (२९)  
विधानाविहितः दैवविहितः । स त्वं भगवान् । अवरजः कनीयान् ॥ (३५)  
सजातीयपरापरोत्पादः संततिः । तत्रादिपुरुषः कुलम् । आभूतप्रादुर्भावः  
प्रसवः ॥

[ १०० ]

(४) शरङ्गं गृहम् ॥ (५) कृष्णस्य व्यासस्य ॥ बभ्रूणि कपि-  
बानि ॥ (२६) अभुजिष्या दासी ॥ (1087\*) प्रलम्भः प्रतारणम् ॥  
आदि० धृतराष्ट्रादिकुमारोत्पत्तिः ॥

[ १०१ ]

(१) किं कृतं कर्म धर्मेण येन शापमुपेयिवान् ।  
इत्यादेः

(२८) दीर्घदर्शी शमपरः कुरूणां च हिते रतः ।

१ Ms. पाणिग्रहस्य. २ Ms. अनुपद्यन (?). ३ Ms. अन्तर्वर्ती (?). Ed अन्तर्वर्त्नी.  
४ Ed संसज्जमानया. ५ Ed धर्मानुबन्धनं. B धर्मं धर्मादर्शमोक्षं. b धर्मं धर्मानुमोक्षं. ६ C om  
from विपरीताम् up to केवला एव. ७ After this B b ins विरुक्त्व व्याचक्षाणाः  
(corrupt). ८ C स्नेहा (?) तेन स्यन्दनं. ९ Ed विधानाविहितः. C परिधानाविहितः (?).  
१० Ed शयनं. ११ C कृष्णस्य रामस्य.

इत्यन्तस्य स्वल्पेऽपराधे महान्तं दण्डं कुर्वतः पतनमिति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥  
 (४) लुप्यत इति लोप्त्रं चौरापहृतं द्रव्यम् ॥ (१६) दोषत इति द्विती-  
 यायां तसिह् । गमिष्यामि इति कारितलोपात् । तेन दोषं गमयिष्यामि प्राप-  
 यिष्यामीत्यन्वयः ॥ (२१) आणिः शूलं तेन उपलक्षितो माण्डव्यः ॥  
 (२२) उपालभत दोषवत्तया उद्भाषितवान् ॥ (२६) आ मर्यादायाम् ।  
 आ चतुर्दश वर्षात् चतुर्दशवर्षादूर्ध्वमित्यर्थः । परेण अन्येन चतुर्दशाधिक-  
 पर्यन्तमित्यर्थः ॥ आदि० धर्मशापः ॥ १०४ ॥

[ १०२ ]

(१) तेषु त्रिषु कुमारेषु जातेषु इत्यादेः

(२३) करणत्वाच्च विदुरः पाण्डुस्त्वासीन्महीपतिः ।

इत्यन्तस्य धर्मस्य विदुररूपेणावतीर्णस्य संनिधानाद् व्यासस्याभोधसंकल्पात्  
 सत्यवतीभीष्मयोः परं शिष्योरनुग्रहात् कुमाराणामयस्कान्तमणेरेव लोभा-  
 त्कर्षणं स तादृशप्रभावेण महामात्रेण त्रयमेवावर्ततेत्यादयो विभूतयो भवन्तीति  
 तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (२) ऊर्ध्वं प्रचुरं सस्यं यस्याम् ॥ (७) धर्मोत्तरं धर्म-  
 प्रधानम् ॥ (८) निर्गूहो निर्णेतं काष्ठम् ॥ (९) पल्वलं अल्पं सरः ।  
 वप्रैः केदारः ॥ (१२) धर्मचक्रं धर्मसमूहः ॥ (१६) श्रमः अस्त्र-  
 विद्याभ्यासः । व्यायामो नियुद्धाद्यभ्यासः ॥ (१७) चर्म फलकम् ॥  
 (२०) परमं पारम् ॥ (२१) निर्बचनं कीर्तनम् ॥ (२३) वैश्येन  
 शूद्रायां जातः करणः । तेनात्र हीनजातिरुपलक्ष्यते । नन्वकरणो विदुरो  
 ब्राह्मणाज्जातत्वात् ॥

[ १०३ ]

(१) गुणैः समुदितं सम्यगिदं नः प्रथितं कुलं ।

इत्यादेः

१ Ed आ चतुर्दशमाहर्षात्. २ Ed पाण्डुरासीत् ( for पाण्डुस्त्वासीत् ). ३ b स तादृशः  
 प्रभावेण सत्तामात्रेण. ४ b निर्गतं. ५ Ed रम्य ( for वम ). Com वप्रः केदारः. ६ B  
 न तु विदुरो करणो.



(अ० १०५-६) षण्डं दृष्ट्वा नरव्याघ्रं व्यस्मयन्त नरा भुवि ।

इत्यन्तस्य कुलवृद्धिहेतुः सदारपरिग्रहस्तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (१२) दित्सितं  
दातुमिष्टम् ॥ (१३) बहुगुणं उपर्युपरि कृतं बहुबन्धुम् ॥ (१४)  
इवसारं भगिनीम् ॥

[ १०४ ]

(५) निगूढनिश्चयं अन्येनाज्ञातनिश्चयम् ॥ (६) अभिचारः  
आवाहनम् ॥ (१०) प्रकाशः तमच्छेदः कर्म यस्य । संबभूवै संभव-  
हेतुं संयोगं गतवान् कारणे कार्योपचारात् ॥ (१३) गूहमाना संवृण्वती ।  
अपचारं अपराधम् ॥ (१६) आपृष्टतापात् पृष्टतापमवधीकृत्य । सवितुः  
पश्चिमादिगमनपर्यन्तमित्यर्थः ॥ (२१) कवचकर्तनात् कर्णो वैकर्तनः ॥

[ १०५ ]

(१) धर्मेण आरामः क्रीडनं यस्याः ॥ (४) यात्वा गत्वा ॥  
(७) कृतोद्वाहस्ततः पाण्डुर्बलोत्साहसमन्वितः ।

इत्यादेः

(अ० १०६-६) संप्रयुक्तश्च कुन्त्या च माध्या च भरतर्षभ ।  
इत्यन्तस्य धर्मदानधीरत्वं तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (८) आगस्कृतः अपराधः कृतः ॥  
(Colophon) संभव उत्पादः । तत्प्रतिपादकत्वात् ग्रन्थोऽपि संभवः ॥

[ १०६ ]

(६) जिततन्द्रीस्तदा पाण्डुर्बभूव वनगोचरः ।

इत्यादेः

(अ० १०९-३१) एवमुक्त्वा सुदुःखार्तो जीवितात्स व्ययुज्यत ।  
इत्यन्तस्य कामगणे मृगयायां अतिव्यसनफलं ब्रह्मशापाद्यन्तमनर्थजातं तात्पर्यार्थः ।  
अत्रैव व्यसनप्रस्तावे व्यसनिनामवगणितानां दुर्योधनादीनां उत्पत्तिकथनमपि ॥

१ B b अस्मयन्त (for व्यस्मयन्त). २ After this Mess ins उमे द्वे. ३ Ed तस्यां गर्भं बध्नी ततः (for संबभूव तथा सह). ४ After this Mess ins सुहो (B b सुहो) राजा पोण्ड्रो बरेन्द्री. ५ B जिततन्द्री तदा. b जिततन्द्रीस्तथा.

( ६ ) तन्द्री चेतनाभ्रंशः ॥ ( १२ ) ब्राह्मणेन शूद्रायां जाता पारश्वी ॥

[ १०७ ]

( १२ ) मांसपेशी मांसकोशः । लोहाष्टीलैर्ब लोहमयी गण्डिकेव ।  
संहता घना ॥ ( १९ ) अष्टीला गण्डिका ॥ ( २८ ) निधने विरोधे ॥  
( ३० ) करणः कृतव्याख्यानः ॥

[ १०९ ]

( १ ) आर्यः आर्यः ॥ ( ९ ) विरहिता अपि रहिताऽपीति<sup>१</sup> ।  
अकारालोपदृच्छान्दसः<sup>२</sup> । बुद्धयङ्ग इति पाठे तु बुद्धिरूपेणाङ्गेन रहितेत्यन्वयः ।  
नृशंसानि हिंसाकर्माणि । पापेष्वभिरत इत्यत्राप्यनुवर्तनीयः ॥ ( १० )  
विधिं प्राक्तनं कर्म । प्रज्ञा न ग्रसते नातिवर्तते । विधिपर्यागतान् विधि-  
क्रमागतान् । प्रज्ञा न प्रतिपद्यते न विषयीकरोति ॥ ( ११ ) कथं इति  
किञ्चुत्तेन । कामलोभाभ्यामभिभवो मतेऽलनमाक्षिप्यते । स्त्रीविषयेच्छा कामः ।  
तदितरविषयो लोभः ॥ ( १४ ) सत्रं द्वादश वर्षाणि(!) साध्यो यज्ञः ॥  
( १५ ) प्रमाणेन श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यां दृष्टो धर्मः तेन । शप्तः हतः । अभि-  
चारेण हिंसया ॥ ( १६ ) द्वौ निषेधौ विधौ पर्यवस्यतः ॥ ( १७ ) विवृतं  
प्रकटम् । चकारादप्रकटमपि ॥ ( १९ ) पुरुषार्थः कामः तस्य फलं सुखम् ॥  
( २६ ) व्यपत्रपन् लज्जमानः ॥

( ३१ ) पाण्डुश्चापि हि शोकार्तः क्षणेन समपद्यत ।

इत्यादेः

( अ० ११०—२४ ) पाण्डुः प्रव्रजितो वनान् इत्यन्तस्य ब्रह्मशापानिरस्तस्त्री-  
भोगेन पाण्डुना चतुर्याश्रमं गन्तुमिच्छता प्रतिपादितास्तद्धर्माश्चेति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥

१ Mss. महाष्टीलैव (?). २ Ed बुद्धयङ्गरहितापि च (for बुद्ध्या विरहिता अपि). ३  
After this Mas ins अङ्ग इत्यामन्त्रणे. ४ B b सन्निहः. ५ B O द्वादशवर्षादिसाध्यः.  
६ Mss. प्रमाणं श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यां. ७ Ed कथमस्मान्विगर्हते (for शप्तः कस्माद्विगर्हितः).  
८ Ed न रिपून्वे (for नारिपून्वे). B b नञी. ९ Ed युगः पाण्डुश्च (for पाण्डुश्चापि हि).  
१० Ed वनम् (for वनात्). b C वनात्.

[ ११० ]

( १ ) व्यतीतं विनाशमाप्तम् । पर्यदेवयद् अशोचयत ॥ ( ३ )  
 कामात्मा कामप्रधानः ॥ ( ५ ) देवैः शास्त्रजनितबोधैः ॥ ( ६ ) मोक्षो  
 बन्धनच्छेदः । पितुः व्याजिनः कृष्णद्वैपायनस्य ॥ ( ७ ) एकः असहायः ।  
 वसन्तित्यभ्याहार्यम् । मुनिः मननपरः । मुण्डः सशिखमुण्डितमुण्डः ॥ ( ८ )  
 प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्ति विहाय मध्यस्थतामाश्रयितुं द्वन्द्वजातीयेभ्यो निवृत्तिं दर्शयति  
 त्यक्तसर्वप्रियाप्रियः इति । प्रियं सुखसाधनं अङ्गरागादि । अप्रियं दुःख-  
 साधनं कण्टकादि । त्यागः तयोरुपादानहानबुद्धिशून्यावस्था ॥ ( ९ ) शोकः  
 प्रियस्य नष्टस्य पुनः पुनर्वुद्धौ निवेशनम् । हर्षः सुखनिबन्धनो मनस उल्लासः ।  
 निन्दा सदसद्वेषाभिधानम् । संस्तुतिः सदसद्गुणकीर्तनम् । आत्मा इति  
 द्वाभ्यां योजनीयम् । तुल्यत्वं ताभ्यां दुःखप्रीत्योरनुत्पादः । निराशीः स्वस्य  
 परस्य वाखिलार्थनिर्गतेच्छः । यद्विधौ यन्निषेधो यन्निषेधे यद्विधिः ते द्वे ।  
 द्वन्द्वं सुखदुःखे शीतोष्णौ रागद्वेषावित्यादि । प्राणयात्रामात्रसाधनादन्यस्यापरि-  
 ग्रहो निष्परिग्रहता । एतत्तु यमनियमयोरुपलक्षणम् ॥ ( १० ) भृकुटिः  
 ललाटवग्वद्विबसु । सा च क्रोधस्योपलक्षणम् । प्रसन्नवदनो रागद्वेषाभ्यामना-  
 विलमुखः ॥ ( ११ ) अहिंसा हिंसाविरोधी प्रयत्नः । स च जात्यनवच्छिन्न  
 इत्याह जङ्गमाजङ्गमं सर्वं इति । चतुर्विधं स्वेदजोद्विजाण्डजजरायुजम् ॥  
 ( १२ ) कुलानि गृहाणि । भैक्षस्य भोजनोपायस्य असंभवे अनशनानि  
 अभोजनानि । न सेवादिनोपायान्तरेण भुञ्जीतेत्यर्थः ॥ ( १३ ) पाणिपात्र-  
 मुदरपात्रं चेति पात्रद्वैविध्यात् पाणिपात्रपक्षमाश्रित्याह अल्पमल्पं इति वीप्सा ।  
 सप्तसु गृहेषु पाणिना पात्रेण अल्पमल्पं भुञ्जानः । पूर्वालाभेन सप्तस्वपि लाभे-  
 नेति भावः । जातु कदाचिदिति कालविशेषः । पुरुषविशेषोपलक्षणार्थः तेन  
 केचिन्मुनयः । उदरपात्रः उदरमेव पात्रं यस्य । पाण्यादिपात्रनिषेधार्थ उपचारः ।  
 तं प्रत्याह । अन्यान् सप्तानां मध्ये पूर्वस्मादपरान् विगच्छन् सप्तानां प्रथमे द्विती-  
 यादौ वा लाभे सति अन्यानगच्छन्तित्यर्थः । अलाभे सप्त पूरयन् अष्टमं न गच्छे-

१ C स्रगादि. २ Ed न शोचन्न प्रहृष्यन्. ३ B bom from भृकुटिः up to  
 श्लो.पलक्षणम्. ४ Ed अविहिंसन्. ५ B b पूर्वालाभेन.

दित्यर्थः ॥ (1164\*) समदर्शी मध्यस्थः<sup>१</sup> ॥ (१४) उक्षतः सिञ्चतः ।  
कल्याणं शुभम् । अकल्याणं अशुभम् ॥ (१५) जिजीविः जीवितु-  
मिच्छन् । मुमूर्षुः मर्तुमिच्छन् । यथा जीवमरणोपायमनुतिष्ठति न तथानु-  
तिष्ठन् । तत्र हेतुः मरणं इति ॥ (१६) अभ्युदये विहिताः क्रियाः ।  
तिसृणां निषिद्धानामिष्टाणां वा यादृच्छिकीनां चेच्छाद्वेषनिष्प्रयत्नसाध्या न कुर्वन्ति  
इत्याह निमेषादिव्यवस्थितं इति । आदिशब्दादुन्मेषश्चासप्रश्नासादयः ॥  
(१७) तासु जीवयोनिप्रयत्नसाध्यासु अवस्थासु सूक्ष्मावस्थासु । तनुः इति  
निरोधोपलक्षणार्थम् । निरुद्धसर्वेन्द्रियक्रियो निरुद्धश्चासप्रश्नासादिरिति यावत् ।  
संपरित्यक्तौ धर्मात्मानौ येन । आत्मा षाट्कौशिकः । निर्णिक्तं<sup>२</sup> शोधितम् ॥  
(१८) वागुरा बन्धनरज्जुः । वागुरेव वागुरा अविद्याकर्मादि । मातरिश्वा  
वायुः । तद्ददर्श्यः ॥ (२१) यो हि कामवृत्तिं त्यक्त्वा पुनराश्रयति स  
शुनां वर्तते पथि वांताशी भवतीत्यर्थः ॥ (२३) वैश्येन शूद्रायां जातो  
यद्यपि क्षत्ता तथाप्यत्र हीनजात्युपलक्षणपरः ॥

(२५) निशम्य वचनं भर्तुर्वनवासे धृतात्मनः ।

इत्यादेः

(अ० १११-११) अप्रजस्य महाभागा न द्वारं परिचक्षते ।

इत्यन्तस्य वानप्रस्थधर्मास्तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (२९) स्वस्य क्षत्रियस्य वृत्तिं  
क्रियाम् । पितुः विचित्रवीर्यस्य । अत एव अव्ययाम् । स्वधर्मत्यागस्य  
कस्याचिदवस्थायां अदृष्टत्वात् ॥ (३१) उपस्पृशन् ज्ञानं कुर्वन् ॥ (३३)  
पंक्षो मित्रम् । अपंक्षो रिपुः ॥ (३४) दृश्यतेऽनेनेति दर्शनं शास्त्रम् ॥  
(३३) विमृशन् इति व्यवहितेनान्वयः ॥ (३४) कुलं गृहम् । एवं गृह-  
वासिनां वानप्रस्थानामपि संनिधानात् । प्रातौ सत्यामपि पुनर्ग्रामवासिनां दूर-

१ After this C [१४] वासी तक्षणं शास्त्रम्. B b वाशीतलक्षणं शास्त्रम्  
(corrupt). २ B b उक्षितः सिञ्चितः. ३ Mss. निषिद्धानां मिश्राणां (?). ४ Ed  
निमेषादिव्यवस्थितः. ५ B b अनवस्थासु. ६ Ed त्यक्तसर्वेन्द्रियक्रियः (for तनुसर्वेन्द्रियक्रियः).  
७ B b निर्णिक्तं. ८ After this B b ins अल्पयुक्ता व्यतिरिक्ता, C ins अन्यत्यक्ते  
व्यतिरिक्तम्. ९ B b अप्रजस्य महाभागवत्तारं प्रतिचक्षते. १० Ed पक्षापकेन (for पक्षापक्षेण).

इत्यत्वेनाप्राप्त्यैव निराकृतत्वात् ॥ (३५) समापनात् पतनार्दवधेः ॥  
(३६) निष्कं प्रैवेयकम् ॥ (३९) अनुयात्राणि सांघातिकबलानि ॥

[ १११ ]

(११) स्वर्गे तेनाभितप्तोऽहमप्रजस्तद्ब्रवीमि वाम् ।

इत्यादेः

(अ० ११५-२८) सर्वे ववृधुरल्पेन कालेनाप्स्विव नीरजाः ।

इत्यन्तस्य प्रसवसमाप्तिपर्यन्तस्य धर्मेणापद्धर्मेण वा पुत्रस्यावश्योत्पाद्यता तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (२६) प्रजनं पुंशक्तिः ॥ (२८)\* स्वयंजातः आत्मना जातः औरसः । प्रणीतः क्षेत्रजः । परिक्रीतो धनेन स्वीकृतः । अन्यस्मै वाग्दत्ता अन्यस्मै प्रतिपादिता पुनर्भूः तस्यां जातः पौनर्भवः । कानीनः कन्यकोद्युतः । स्वैरिणी स्वेच्छाचारिणी तज्जैः ॥ (२९) दत्तः पितृभ्यां समर्पितः । क्रीतः परिवर्तगृहीतः । कृत्रिमः तव पुत्रोऽस्मीति स्वयमुपगच्छन् । सहोदो यस्य माता गर्भेण सहोदा । ज्ञातिरेता अपुत्रस्य भ्रात्रादिपुत्रः । हीनयोनिधृतः उत्तमेन पित्रा हीनायां स्त्रियां जनितः ॥ (३२) सदृशः तुल्यात् । श्रेयस उत्तमात् ॥

[ ११२ ]

(१४) सोमसंस्था यागविशेषः ॥ (२८) दर्शयस्व दर्शनेन संभावयस्व ॥

[ ११३ ]

(५) कौमाराद् ऊर्ध्वं यौवने प्राप्ते । व्युच्चरमाणानां तत्सूत्रं चरन्ती-  
नाम् ॥ (१४) अभिचारः आवाहनम् ॥ (४३) प्रदक्षिणं आनुकूल्यं  
यथा भवति तथा वर्तितवती ॥

[ ११४ ]

(२) बालिं पूजाम् ॥ (३) योगमूर्तिधरेण इच्छाकायधरेण ॥

१ C अयनादवधेः. २ Mss स्वर्गतेना° (for स्वर्गे तेना°). ३ Ed वः. ४ Mss om जातः. ५ After this B b ins तथा वा लिख्यहरा (?). ६ Ed जातरेताः (for ज्ञातिरेताः).

\* For the types of sons mentioned here compare  
Manusmṛti IX, 166-178.

(४) वेन्द्रे ज्येष्ठायाम् । अभिजिते अष्टमे मध्याह्ने ॥ (२६) धाम  
गृहम् ॥ (२१) कुरुलक्ष्म कुरुचिह्नम् ॥ (६५) चारिणी कुलटा ।  
बन्धकी गणिका ॥

[ ११५ ]

(१) रहः एकान्ते ॥ (६) स्तम्भो वाक्स्तम्भः ॥ (७) इष्टा-  
निष्टविवक्षया इष्टं वा अनिष्टं वा तवेति विवक्षया संशयेन ॥ (१४)  
पुत्रेण उडुपेन ॥ (१८) अत्यश्विनौ अतिक्रान्ताश्विनीकुमारौ ॥

[ ११६ ]

(१) दर्शनीयांस्तुतः पुत्रान् पाण्डुः पञ्च महावने ।  
इत्यादेः

(१२) पाण्डुः परमधर्मात्मा युयुजे कालधर्मणा ।  
इत्यन्तस्य तीव्रतपस्तीर्थसेवाशिष्टसमागमादिभिरपि तीव्रसंवेगी ब्राह्मणशापो नाति-  
क्रम्यत इति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (२) मधुः चैत्रः । माधवो वैशाखः ॥ (६)  
वयःस्थां यौवनस्थां । तनुवाससं दृश्यसर्वावयवाम् । गहने वने ॥

(१३) ततो माद्री समालिङ्ग्य राजानं गतचेतसम् ।  
इत्यादेः

(अ० ११९-५) संमूढां दुःखलोकार्ता व्यासो मातरमब्रवीत् ।  
इत्यन्तस्य शिष्टोचितक्रियातात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (१४) तथागतो यथा पुनस्तथा  
मर्त्या नायाति । अथवा कालधर्मेण गतः । अथवा यथैक आयातः तथा एको  
गतः ॥ (१८) वनौकसो मृगस्य दीनस्य ब्रह्मशापेन ॥ (२१) मचो  
भाग्यतरा मत्तः प्रकृष्टभाग्या ॥ (२२) विलोक्यमानेन रूपेण । वार्ष-  
माणेन वाचा क्रियया । दिष्टं भागधेयम् । सत्यं अहितयम् । चिकीर्षुणां  
कर्तुमिच्छता ॥ (२३) अभावात् निधनात् ॥ (२५) अपलायिनं

१ b om लक्ष्म कुरुचिह्नम्. २ C स्त्रेणी. ३ Ed एतावन्याजनानति (for एतावत्स-  
श्विनाशिति). ४ C अवस्था (?). ५ C शिष्टास्थितिक्रियातात्पर्यार्थः. ६ Ed विलोक्यमानेन. C  
विनोद्यमानेन (?). ७ Mss om चिकीर्षुणा. ८ Ed भावात् (for अभावात्).

संग्रामात् ॥ (२६) कथमुच्छिष्टां कथमुन्मूलयेयम् । सत्यं अवितथम् ।  
अनुगमनेन कामं मन्यं संपादयामीत्यर्थः ॥ (२७) वर्तयन्ती पालयन्ती ॥  
(२९) सुप्रतिच्छन्नं सुगुप्तम् । यथा न लज्जा भवेत् ॥

[ ११७ ]

(१) अवभृथं इव अवभृथम् जीवनयज्ञांतम् ॥ (२) शरणं रक्षकम् ॥  
(३) उपनिधिं निक्षेपम् ॥ (८) वर्धमानपुरद्वारं सिंहद्वारम् ॥ (९)  
तां कुन्तीम् । चारणसहस्राणां गायमानानाम् । मुनीनामागमनं श्रुत्वा ॥  
(१२) व्यतिकरः संदर्भः ॥ (२१) दिव्येन हेतुना कुन्तीलब्धेन मन्त्रेण ॥  
(२३) महेश्वासान् महाधनुष्कान् ॥ (३१) पितृमेघं वृषोत्सर्गादि ॥

[ ११८ ]

(१२) शुभ्राणि पाण्डुराणि इति पर्यायाभ्यां पाण्डुरत्वोत्कर्षमाह ॥  
(१३) याजकैः वैश्वविशेषैः ॥ (१५) अपाहाय त्यक्त्वा ॥ (१७)  
न्यासयामासुः स्थापयामासुः ॥ (१८) कालीयकादिगधं कृष्णागुरु-  
लितम् ॥ (२२) तुङ्गपद्मकौ गन्धविशेषौ ॥ (२९) शिदियरे सुषुपुः ॥

[ ११९ ]

(६) अविक्रान्तसुखाः कालाः प्रत्युपस्थितदारुणाः ।  
इत्यादेः

(४३) उद्धावनमकुर्वन्तो विदुरस्य मते स्थिताः ।  
इत्यन्तस्य राजदोषात्कालो दुष्टः कालदोषाच्च सर्वाः क्रियाः मलिना प्रवर्तन्ते इति  
तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (६) श्वः श्वः प्रातः प्रातः । पापाय हिताः पापीयाः । गत-  
यौवना सत्यानि न प्रसूयते ॥ (८) योगः चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः\* ॥ (१३)  
संस्कारान् उपनयनादीन् ॥ (१५) जवे वेगे । भोज्ये भोजनशक्तौ ॥

१ C अनुगमनकाममुन्मुखं (corrupt). २ Ed तं (for तां). ३ C गता. ४ C  
देवगायनानाम्. ५ Mss विधिना (for हेतुना). ६ C सायकैः अस्त्रविशेषैः. ७ Ed अति-  
क्रान्तसुखाः (for अविक्रान्त\*). ८ B b राजदोषात्सर्वक्रियाः मलिनाः प्रवर्तन्ते. ९ Ed त्यागं  
for योगं).

\*Pāt. Yogasūtra I. 2.

( १६ ) काकनिलीयने क्रीडाविशेषे ॥ ( १७ ) विगृह्णाति विग्रहेण व्याप्नोति ॥ ( २२ ) नियुद्धे बाहुयुद्धे । योग्यासु शिक्षासु । उत्तरं अधिकम् ॥ ( २७ ) प्रसह्यं हठात् ॥ ( ३० ) प्रमाणकोट्यां गङ्गातीर-विशेषे ॥ ( ३८ ) अपहस्तेन पश्चात्तलप्रहारेण ॥ ( ३९ ) संभृतं निविष्टम् ॥ ( ४० ) वेश्यापुत्रः युयुत्सुः । तद् अपि विषमपि ॥ ( ४१ ) भीमसंहर्तनं भीमकायम् । भीं अजनयत् न पुनरमारयत् ॥

[ १२० ]

( १ ) कृपस्यापि महाब्रह्मन् संभवं वक्तुमर्हसि ।

इत्यादेः

( अ० १२३-७८ ) भविता त्वत्समो<sup>१</sup> नान्यः पुमान् लोके धनुर्धरः ।

इत्यन्तस्य शस्त्रशिक्षाकामानां कुमाराणां कृते शस्त्राचार्ययोः कृपद्रोणयोरुत्पत्ति-शस्त्रावाप्तिशस्त्रप्रयोगसंहारशिष्यपरीक्षानैपुणादीनि तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( २ ) शरद्वान् इति नाम्ना । गौतम इति गोत्रेण ॥ ( ५ ) तपःशस्त्राभ्यां संतापयामास ॥ ( १० ) अवतस्थे अवज्ञाय स्थितः ॥ ( १५ ) तेन प्रवृत्तः धनुर्वेदस्यान्तो निश्चयः तं गच्छति इति धनुर्वेदान्तगः । तस्य तद-पत्यं इत्यन्वयः ॥ ( १६ ) पुत्री पुत्रश्च पुत्रौ ॥ ( २० ) युक्तं प्रयुक्तं करयुक्तं यन्त्रयुक्तम् । अथवा अस्त्रं शस्त्रं अत्यस्त्रं परमास्त्रं चेति । अथवा आदान-सन्धानविमोक्षसंहारा इति चातुर्विध्यम् ॥

[ १२१ ]

( २ ) अदेवो देवान्यः । सत्त्वः शरीरी ॥ ( ३ ) हविर्धाने हवि-र्धाम्नि । आप्पुतां स्नाताम् ॥ ( ४ ) द्रोणे कलशे ॥ ( १४ ) अश्वस्य उच्चैःश्रवसः इव स्थाप्य बलं यस्य ॥

१ Ed विगृह्णाति. २ Com from ब्रह्म up to पश्चात्तलप्रहारेण. ३ C संभृतं मेलितम्. B b संभृतं निविष्टम्. ४ Ed भीमसंहर्तनः. ५ Ed भीमः अजनयत् ( for भीं अजनयत् ). ६ Mss मत्समः ( ? ).



[१२२]

(२) अकृता असंस्कृता ॥ (३) उदीर्णानां उद्विक्तानाम् । श्रिया शोभया ॥ (५) अजरं अविनश्वरम् ॥ (७) सखा पूर्व यस्य तत् सखि-  
पूर्वम् ॥ (९) किमिष्यते किमभिलष्यते ॥ (१२) वीटा क्रीडन-  
विशेषः ॥ (१६) ईषीकाः वीरणशलाकाः ॥ (२३) सुसत्कृतं सुपूजि-  
तम् । निष्णातं शिक्षितम् ॥ (४१) कृतोपसदनः कृताभिवादनः ॥

[१२३]

(१) आतस्थे<sup>१</sup> अनुष्ठितवान् । योगं एकाम्रताम् ॥ (४) अँस्यति  
अभ्यस्यति ॥ (५) ज्या मौर्वी । तलः प्रकोष्ठः ॥ (१२) महीभयं  
मृण्मयम् ॥ (३९) विगतज्वरो विगतसंतापः ॥ (४२) योगः  
संहननम् ॥ (४३) व्यस्त्रे<sup>२</sup> विशिष्टास्त्रे । उपयोगः प्रयोगः । सौष्ठवं  
स्थानसुष्ठुत्वम् ॥ (४६) भासो मृध्नः ॥ (४९) अङ्गिरसां वरो द्रोणः ॥  
(७१) आवापैः शरक्षेपैः ॥ (७६) असामान्यं असाधारणम् ॥ आदि०  
संभवः समाप्तः ॥

[१२४]

(१) कृतास्त्रान्धातैराष्ट्रांश्च पाण्डुपुत्रांश्च भारत ।  
इत्यादेः

(अ० १२७-२४) युधिष्ठिरस्यापि तदा भवन्मतिः ।

न कर्णतुल्योऽस्ति धनुर्धरः क्षितौ ॥

इत्यन्तस्य कृतोपनयनानां क्षत्रियाणां धनुर्वेदग्रहणतदर्थानुष्ठानस्य धर्म्यत्वात् तत्र  
पाण्डवकौरवकुमाराणां कीदृक् कस्य कौशलमिति शस्त्रवृद्धेषु भीष्मादिषु परीक्षण-  
व्याजेन शस्त्रविद्याभ्यासातिशयस्तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (७) हे क्षत्तः हे विदुर ॥

१ B b सुसंस्कृते. २ Ed निपुणं. ३ C om आतस्थे. ४ Ed अभ्यस्त (for अँस्यति).  
५ Ed अस्त्रे (for व्यस्त्रे). ६ Ed अस्त्रोपदेशेषु (for अस्त्रप्रयोगेषु). ७ B b स्थानं सुष्ठु  
कुर्वन्ना. After this B b ins साद्रीनां शुद्धिः (?). C ins दीनां शुद्धिः (?). ८ Ed  
अभवत्तदा मतिः.

(८) प्रकाण्डरहित उद्भिज्जो गुल्मः । तद्रहिताम् । उदक् उत्तरप्रवृत्तं पानीयं  
यत्र तद् उदकप्लवनं तत्र संस्थिताम् ॥ (९) अवघुष्टं शब्दितम् ॥  
(१८) साङ्गारकः सकुजः ॥ (२६) चुकुशुः आह्वानं चकुः ॥ (२७)  
मार्गान् कौशिकादीन् ॥ (३१) वासितां करिणी ॥ (३२) मण्ड-  
लानि भ्रान्तोद्भ्रान्तानि ॥ (३३) पाण्डवारणिः पाण्डवानामेवाग्नीनामुत्पत्ति-  
काष्ठमिव कुन्ती ॥

[१२५]

(७) ऐन्द्रिः भर्जुनः । इन्द्रानुजः उपेन्द्रः ॥ (१०) समुत्पिञ्जः  
कलकलशब्दः व्याकुलता वा ॥ (२२) सुकुमारं पुष्पादि । स्रक्ष्मं बाला-  
ग्रादि । गुरुं अचलादि ॥ (२५) दर्शनानि आगमान् ॥ (२६)  
समाप्तभूयिष्ठे ईषद् परिसमाप्ते ॥ (२७) वज्रनिष्पेषो वज्रध्वनिः ॥  
(३०) सावित्रेण हस्तादिना पञ्चतारेण ॥

[१२६]

(५) सिंहस्येव संहननं शरीरं यस्य ॥ (६) नात्यादृतं साव-  
ज्ञम् ॥ (१०) क्षिप्तं आक्षिप्तम् ॥ (१९) वीर्यं पराभिभवशक्तिः ।  
तेन श्रेष्ठः उत्तमः । तत्र हेतुः बलं धर्मोऽनुवर्तते ॥ (२०) किं क्षेपः  
वा कृतैः बलहीनस्य आश्वाससदृशैः ॥ (२१) त्वरयाश्लिष्टः त्वरितः ॥  
(२३) सविद्युतानि स्तनितानि इन्द्रधनुश्च पुरोगर्मा येषाम् ॥ (२५)  
परिक्षिप्तः परिवेष्टितः ॥ (२७) विज्ञातार्था विज्ञाततत्त्वार्था ॥ (२९)  
कर्णार्जुनौ मत्पुत्रौ एव । दंशितौ संनद्धौ ॥ (३४) योनिः कारणम् ।  
तत्कुलिनः तेषां राज्ञां कुले भवन् । प्रकर्षति आज्ञापयति ॥ (३७) वृषः  
श्रेष्ठः ॥

[१२७]

(१) यष्टिप्राणो यष्टिरेव प्राणः शक्तिर्यस्य ॥ (३) परिपूर्णार्थं

१ C om from उदक् up to शब्दितम्. २ Ed उदकप्रवण°. ३ Ed वाशिता. ४  
C °धृत्यत्तिस्थानमिव. ५ B b om गुरुं अचलादि. ६ Ed क्षिप्तं (for क्षिप्तं). ७ Mss सेन्द्रः  
चक्रुः (?). Ed सेन्द्रायुष°. ८ Ed °पुरोजवैः (for °पुरोगमैः).

राज्यलामात् ॥ ( ४ ) अतिविह्वलः सशोकः ॥ ( ६ ) प्रतोदो लोह-  
मुखमश्वप्रेरणकाष्ठम् ॥ ( ११ ) प्रभवा उत्पत्तयः । दुर्विदा दुःखज्ञानाः ।  
क्षत्रबन्धुना क्षत्राधमेन ॥ ( १४ ) आगमितम् ज्ञातम् ॥ ( २४ )  
निःश्रमः निःशेषितश्रमः ॥

[१२८]

( १ ) ततः शिष्यान्समाहूय<sup>१</sup> आचार्यार्थमचोदयत् ।

इत्यादेः

( १८ ) युधि निर्जित्य पार्थेन द्रोणाय प्रतिपादिता ।

इत्यन्तस्य तेजस्विनि प्रियमाचरति वाचापि नाप्रियमाचरेत् । अप्रिय-  
वाक्कर्मन्धनसमुद्भूतः तेजोऽग्निः कालान्तरेणापि सानुबन्धं दहेदिति यथायमेव द्रोण-  
तेजोऽग्निः द्रुपदमिति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( १ ) आचार्यार्थं किं दक्षिणा इष्यते ॥  
( १४३५\* ) किं ईति प्रश्ने सोपहासमिव ॥ ( १७ ) ब्राह्मेण तपसा ॥ इयं  
चोपकथा प्राकरणीककथाया दृष्टान्तः ॥

[१२९]

( १ ) प्राणाधिकं भीमसेनं कृतविद्यं धनंजयं ।

इत्यादेः

( अ० १३८-३१ ) पास्यन्तीमे जलं पश्चात्प्रतिबुद्धा जितकुमाः ।

इत्यन्तस्य पाण्डवेषु महातेजस्विषु कौरवाणां वाचा कर्मणा च तेजोऽवधारणं  
द्रोणद्रुपदीयकथादृष्टान्तेन कदाचित्पाण्डवतेजोऽग्निः प्रज्वलिष्यति यत्र कौरवा  
होष्यन्त इति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( १५ ) दायाद्यं रिक्थम् ॥

[१३०]

( ९ ) अर्थ एव वर्गः । गोहिरण्यवृक्षादीनां भिन्नानामर्थत्वेनैकतापादनं  
वर्गः ॥

१ Ed स्नेहबिह्वलः. २ B C क्षत्राद्धलेन (?). ३ Ed समानीय. ४ Mss. वृत्तं. ५  
Ed ब्राह्मेण. ६ C om from प्राणाधिकं up to °कथादृष्टान्तेन. ७ C गोहिरण्यभूम्यादीनां.

[१३१]

- (३) समाजो मेलको यात्रा इति यावत् । पशुपतेः पशुपतिसंबन्धि ॥  
 (८) उत्सवं पशुपतियात्रालक्षणम् । अनुगन्तीति अनुयात्राः सेवकाः ॥  
 (१५) न प्रसहिष्यन्ते<sup>१</sup> न बाधिष्यन्ते ॥

[१३२]

- (४) विश्वासेन भवति वैश्वासिकः ॥ (८) महाधनं महार्घम् ॥  
 (९) अग्नेर्हितं आग्नेयम् ॥ (१५) पर्ययः परिवर्तः ॥

[१३३]

- (८) पापं कौरवद्रोहलक्षणम् ॥ (११) दिष्टभावं परलोकम् ॥  
 (१८) प्राज्ञः ऊहापोहसमर्थः । प्रलापज्ञः<sup>२</sup> प्रलापान् निरर्थकानि वचांसि  
 अनेनाभिप्रायेण इमानीति जानन् ॥ (१९) अलोहं बुद्धिमयम् । निशितं  
 तीक्ष्णम् । शस्त्रं हिंसकम् । शरीरपरिवर्तनं<sup>३</sup> इति शस्त्रत्वे हेतुः ॥ (२०)  
 कक्षः तृणेन्धनसमुदायः तं हन्तीति कक्षघ्नः अग्निः । शिशिरघ्नः तुषारघ्नः स एव ।  
 महाकक्षे महावने । बिलौकसो<sup>४</sup> बिलवासिनः । न दहेद् इत्युक्तेन प्रकारेण ।  
 चशब्दो दृष्टान्ताय । यथा महावने प्रज्वलितोऽग्निर्विलवासिनो न दहेत् तथा-  
 प्यत्र गृहादावपि ज्वलन्नाग्निर्विलसमाश्रयान्न दहतीति । संकेतेन युधिष्ठिरायात्मनः  
 शरीरस्य रक्षोपायं कथयति ॥ (२१) अचक्षुः अप्रज्ञावान् । एवंविधो यद्वि-  
 मोक्षणमार्गं न वेत्ति<sup>५</sup> । अधृतिः उत्सुकः । तस्मादस्मिन् समये भवद्भिरपुष्टबलै-  
 र्युद्धाय नोद्योगः कार्यः ॥ (२२) अनाप्तैः अहितैः । दत्तं अग्निविषादिकम् ।  
 शस्त्रं हिंसकम् । अलोहजं बुद्धिजम् । तदेव आदत्ते गृह्णाति । स प्रमुच्येत  
 तस्मात् शस्त्रात् । अत्र दृष्टान्तः ।

१ Ed प्रसहिष्यति. २ Mss om प्रलापज्ञः. Mss read प्रज्ञया कृतान् प्रलापकान् (?).  
 ३ Ed 'परिवर्तनं. ४ b वनौकसः. ५ After this Mss ins अस्यामापदि विदितरूपो येन  
 मार्गेण गमिष्यति तेन (?) उपायान्तरावपि (?) वधमासादयिष्यति । तदा दिग्बन्धनमपि नास्ति तस्यां  
 दिशि गन्तव्यम् । यस्यां हि पक्षो न जानन्ति । ज्ञात्वा यथोपायान्तरेण हन्तुं नोद्योगं कुर्वन्ति इति  
 यावत् ।

### श्वाविच्छललमासांघ प्रमुच्येत हुताशनात् ।

इति । श्वानं विध्यतीति श्वावित् शल्लकी । शल्लं<sup>१</sup> कण्टकरूपं स्वीयं लोम । आसाद्य आसमन्तात् गमयित्वा गात्रविधूननेन दिक्षु पातयित्वेत्यर्थः । स हि शुनो भिया पलायमानः कण्टकरूपैः लोमभिः विध्यन् मुच्यते । हुताशनात् हूयत इति हुतं मांसं तदश्नातीति हुताशनः श्वा तस्मात् । अयमभिप्रायः । यथा स्वेनोपायेन कौरवास्त्वां वञ्चयितुमिच्छन्ति तथा स्वेनोपायेन बिलेन तांस्त्वं वञ्चयेति ॥ (२३) आत्मना षष्ठेन सह । आत्मनः<sup>२</sup> आत्मसंबन्धिनः । पञ्च चतुरो भ्रातृन् पञ्चमी मातरम् । पीडयन् परिमितबिलप्रवेशेन<sup>३</sup> संकोचयन् । नानुपीड्यते न पश्चाच्छत्रुभिः संकोच्यते दग्धा इति ज्ञानात् । अथवा आत्मना देहेन । एकवचनात् एकेन । आत्मनः देहान् पञ्चसंख्याकान् । अत्र निषादीपुत्रदेहेषु पञ्चसंख्या निषादीदेहे च एकसंख्या । पीडयन् हिंसयन् । अनु तदाहानन्तरम् । पाण्डवा एव मात्रा सह दग्धा इति प्रतीतेः शत्रुभिर्धार्तराष्ट्रैर्न पीड्यते भवानिति संकेतः । अथवा आत्मना मनसा सह आत्मन इन्द्रियाणि पीडयन् नियमनात् । शेषं पूर्ववत् । भोगलोभं विहायाज्ञानचर्यायां दुःखमप्यनुभूय स्थातव्यमिति संकेतः ॥ (२०) कक्षघ्नः इत्यत्र बिलप्रवेशेनात्मानं रक्षेदिति संकेतः ॥ (२१) नाचक्षुः<sup>४</sup> इत्यत्र परेण विहितो निःसरेत् । उपायान्तरेणापि वधस्य संभाव्यमानत्वात् । धृतिः इत्यत्र न साहसे चरः संग्राममारभेत् । हीनबलतया परिभवसंभवादिति संकेतः ॥ (२२) अनाप्तैः<sup>५</sup> इत्यत्र परेण प्रयुक्ते बुद्धिमये शस्त्रे बुद्धिमयेनैव शस्त्रेण प्रतिकर्तव्यमिति संकेतः ॥ (२४) अनुशिष्यं<sup>६</sup> अनुशासनं कृत्वा ॥ (२६) अब्रुवन्<sup>७</sup> इति पाँठे प्रलपन्नित्यर्थः । अथवा ब्रुवन् वक्रान् वाग्जालप्रयोगान् ॥

[१३४]

( ११ ) शिवाख्यं शिव इति आख्या यस्य । अशिवं मरणहेतुत्वात् ।

१ B b om from श्वाविच्छ<sup>०</sup> up to इति. २ Ed शरणं (for शल्लं). ३ B om आत्मनः. C सहायिन. ४ C<sup>०</sup>प्रेरणेन. ५ C om from नाचक्षुः up to<sup>०</sup>कर्मव्यमिति संकेतः. ६ Ed अनुशिष्या (for अनुशिष्य). ७ C om from पाठे up to वक्रान्. ८ b om अब्रुवन्. ९ C अवाचकप्रयोगान्.

(१४) मृजः शरः उलर्पः ॥ (१५) सुकृतं सुष्ठुकृतम् । विनीतैः  
शिक्षितैः ॥ (१६) पारशवः उत्तमेन हीनस्त्रियां जातः विदुरः ॥ (१९)  
यैः सावधानैः । प्रक्रियते प्रकटीक्रियते । ज्ञातः परस्य पापोऽभिप्रायो येन  
वाग्रूपचक्षुरादिविकारेण स आकारः । तस्य अभावः । निः उपसर्गार्थः । नष्टैः  
अदृश्यैः । इवशब्दोऽवधारणे । अयमेव प्रकारः श्रेयानित्यभिप्रायः । विचि-  
न्वाद्भिः अनुसरद्भिः । गतिः गम्यतेऽनयेति गतिं पन्थानम् । ध्रुवां ध्रुवविनाश-  
प्रापिकार्षे ॥ (२०) प्रसह्य दृठात् ॥ (२१) उपाक्रोशो लोकगर्हा ॥  
(२२) अपि च पक्षान्तरे । अपि संभावनायाम् ॥ (२३) स्पशैः चरैः ॥  
(२५) ईदं पापं अग्निगृहे मरणलक्षणम् ॥ (२७) गूढः छन्नः उच्छ्वासो  
येषाम् । उच्छ्वासशब्दमपि न करिष्यामः । अथवा गूढोच्छ्वासो गूढनिःसरण-  
मार्गः ॥

[१३५]

(६) म्लेच्छवाक् इव म्लेच्छवाक् अवाचकत्वात् । म्लेच्छ अव्यक्तायां  
वाचि । अवाचकत्वं च रूढिहीनत्वात् ॥ (८) कवेः विदुरस्य ॥ (१३)  
वप्रान्ते प्राकारपर्यन्ते । निष्प्रतीकारं अचिकित्सम् ॥ (१६) परिखां  
नाम परिखासंज्ञकं बिलं चकार ॥ (१८) अशुभधीः पापबुद्धिः ॥

[१३६]

(१) परिसंवत्सरं संवत्सरपर्यन्तम् ॥ (४) द्रवामो व्रजामः ॥  
(६) माधवीं कुन्तीम् ॥ (९) प्रवाते प्रकृष्टे वाते । तुमुले महति ॥  
(१३) दिष्ट्या कल्याणम् ॥ (१६) उपरोधेन यन्त्रणया । साध्वसेन  
भयेन ॥

[१३७]

(७) व्यपोहमानाः निर्वापयन्तः ॥ (८) प्रत्यपिहितं पुनः पिहि-  
तम् ॥ (१३) कुल्यानि<sup>५</sup> चैत्यानि ॥ (१६) परं मरणादन्यतमम् ॥

१ B C शरवल(न)ज(?) उलपः. २ B b यलैः. ३ B b स्थानं(?). ४ C ध्रुवां  
विनाशप्रापिकां. ५ Ed इमं. ६ C गृहनिःसरण°. ७ Com from कुल्यानि up to ज्येष्ठः.  
८ After this B b ins ततोऽशौचातः(?) अविचारः.

[१३८]

( १ ) शुक्लो ज्येष्ठः ॥ ( ५ ) रोधस्सु तीरेषु ॥ ( ११ ) जल-  
स्थायो जलाशयः ॥ ( १३ ) उत्तरीयेण उपरिवस्त्रेण ॥ ( १४ ) गव्यूतिः  
कोशयुगम् ॥ ( १९ ) शेते स्वपिति । हां कष्टम् । अतथोचिता तथा  
प्रकारानुचिता ॥ एकजः चैत्यवृक्षः ॥

( ३१ ) इति भीमो व्यवस्यैव जजागार स्वयं तदा ।  
इत्यादेः

( अ० १४२-३४ ) प्रययुः पुरुषव्याघ्रा हिडिम्बा चैव राक्षसी ।  
इत्यन्तस्य सर्वातिशायि भुजबल भीमस्येति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥

[१३९]

( ५ ) स्नेहस्रवान् लालाम् । पर्येति परिवर्तते ॥ ( ७ ) धमनीं  
शिराम् ॥ ( ८ ) नुं वितर्के ॥ ( ९ ) नौ आवयोः ॥ ( २५ ) त्रास्ये  
रक्षयिष्यामि ॥ ( २७ ) प्रभवन्निव इन्द्रियेषु प्रभवन्मुनिर्यथा तथाहम् ॥

[१४०]

( २ ) मेघसंघातवर्ष्मा मेघसंघातोच्छ्रयः ॥ ( ५ ) श्रोणीं कटिम् ॥  
अवदानं खण्डनम् ॥ ( १६ ) उत्फाल्य विस्तार्य ॥

[१४१]

( ३ ) परेण कामेन । अपकारे कृते सति ॥ ( ५ ) मदर्थो नियोगो  
मन्त्रियोर्गः ॥ ( १३ ) कात्थितेन स्वगुणकीर्तनेन ॥ ( १४ ) आंयस्तौ  
कृतपराक्रमौ ॥

१ Ed शुक्ल. २ Ed हि (for हा). ३ After प्रययुः पुरु C wrongly ins  
com. on Ed passage from [ १५२-९ ] प्रवृत्तिं वार्ता up to [ १५६-१ ] द्रौपदीपाणिग्रहणं.  
४ Ed तु (for उ). ५ Ed ते. ६ Mss ins मेघसंघातवर्ष्मा मेघसंघातोच्छ्रायः at the  
beginning of Adh. [ १३९ ] instead of at the beginning of Adh. [ १४० ].  
७ C दाषनं (for अवदानं). b om अवदानं. B om अवदानं खण्डनम्. c Ed त्वन्त्रियोगेन  
(for मन्त्रियोगेन). After this Mss ins काम (किम्) देवेस्य (?). ९ After this  
Mss ins स्वभावेन मनासि (?). १० Ed आसक्तौ. b त्रियतौ (?).

[१४२]

( ९ ) अपनेतुं इतः स्थानाद् विजनं स्थानं नेतुम् ॥ ( २२ ) पुरा  
अग्रतः । रौद्रे रुद्रदैवते ॥ ( २४ ) गुणशताधिकं वारशताधिकम् । अथवा  
गुणानां सत्त्वरजस्तमसां शतं त्रिशती तदधिकम् ॥ ( २९ ) दुन्दुभिः मेरी ॥  
( ३० ) योक्त्रयित्वा बध्वा ॥ द्विडिम्बवधः समाप्तः ॥

[१४३]

( १ ) स्मरन्ति वैरं रक्षांसि मायामाश्रित्य मोहिनीम् ।

इत्यादेः

( ३८ ) कर्णस्त्राग्निद्विर्गोऽयं विनाशाय महात्मनः ।

इत्यन्तस्यावक्षितो धर्मः सद्बुद्धिदानेन सहायसंपादनेन च वक्ष्यति तदिदमा-  
बाल्यात् पाण्डुपुत्रैः पालितस्य धर्मस्य फलमिति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( १ ) आतृ-  
निषेवितं पन्थानं मरणम् ॥ ( २ ) गुप्तिः त्राणम् ॥ ( ८ ) तदो तस्मिन्  
प्रथमदर्शनकाले । क्रियां संभोगम् । प्रत्याख्यातार्त्तं तव पुत्रेण स्वपुत्रेण प्रेरणा-  
द्वारेण त्वया वा ॥ ( १० ) विश्रम्भं विश्वासम् ॥ ( १४ ) आपत्सु धर्म-  
छिद्रेषु यो धर्मं धारयते स धर्मविदुत्तमः ॥

( १५ ) येन येनाचरेद्धर्मं तस्मिन् गर्हा न विद्यते ।

येन प्रकारेण प्रतिषिद्धेनापि । आचरेद्धर्मं प्राणस्थितिलक्षणम् । गर्हा तस्मि-  
न्निन्दा न विद्यते ॥ ( ३३ ) विविधाः कचा दीप्तयो यस्य स विकचः ॥  
( ३४ ) घट चेष्टस्व यदिच्छसि तत्कुरुष्वेति भावः । भासा दीप्त्या ऊर्ध्वाः  
कचाः केशाः यस्य । इतिशब्दो हेतौ । अथवा घटभाषा जलेन पूर्यमाणस्य  
घटस्य ध्वनिः । घटभाषेव भाषा वाणी यस्य । लुप्तमध्यपदो बहुव्रीहिः । घटभाषः  
च असौ उत्कचः च । इतिशब्दः उपदर्शने । कचिर्त्तं घटो हास्योत्कच इति  
वा पाठः । तत्र घट इव जृम्भते हास्यं यस्य स तथा पश्चात्कर्मधारयः ॥

१ After this B ins सन्ध्यामुखे. २ B वारशते. ३ B b om महात्मनः. ४ B b  
om धर्मस्य. ५ B b om तदा. ६ Mss प्रतिख्याता ( for प्रत्याख्याता ). ७ Ed धारयति.  
८ B b om from तस्मिन् up to प्राणस्थितिलक्षणं गर्हा. ९ C व्यभिचारः. १० B b om  
from कचिद् up to कर्मधारयः.



(३५) तानरक्तः इत्यन्वयः ॥ (३६) संवाससर्मयः स दिवा क्रीडित्वा निशि समर्पयिष्यामीतिरूपः । जीर्णः अतिक्रान्तः ॥

[१४४]

(१) ते वनेन वनं वीरौ घ्नन्तो मृगगणान्बहून् ।  
इत्यादेः

(२०) जगाम भगवान्<sup>३</sup>न्यासो यथाकाममृषिः प्रभुः ।

इत्यन्तस्य विहितेन वर्त्मना गच्छतां पाण्डवानां परमशिष्टानुमतिस्तात्पर्यार्थः ॥

(२) अन्तरेण मध्ये ॥ (४) छन्देन इच्छया ॥ (५) ब्राह्मं वेदं ऋग्वेदादिलक्षणम् ॥ (११) अभ्याशे समीपे ॥

[१४५]

(१) एकचक्रां गतास्ते तु कुन्तीपुत्रौ महारथाः ।  
इत्यादेः

(अ० १५२-१९) तदद्भुततमं द्रष्टुं पार्थास्तत्रैव चावसन् ।

इत्यन्तस्य ब्राह्मणरक्षणपुरःसरं लोककण्टकोद्धारस्तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (१२) वीत-  
मन्यवो वीतशोकाः ॥ (१८) बद्धवत्सा सौरभी धेनुर्यथा वत्सस्थानं  
गच्छति तथा कुन्ती अन्तःपुरमिव अंतःपुरं ब्राह्मणपत्नीं प्रति गता ॥ (१९)  
विकृताननं शोकविवर्णमुखम् ॥ (२०) अनलसारं असारमित्यर्थः ॥  
(२१) ज्वरः तापः । द्वन्द्वानि सुखदुःखादीनि ॥ (२२) एकात्मा  
एकाकी ॥ (२३) स च मोक्षः । नास्ति न भवति । कथंचन कथमपि ।  
न अस्माकं रागिणामिति यावत् ॥ (२५) योगं अष्टाङ्गम् । न प्रपश्यामि  
न जानामि । प्रद्रवेयं<sup>५</sup> गच्छेयम् । अनामयं अनुपद्रवं स्थानम् । न हि इति  
पूर्वस्मादनुवर्तनियम् ॥ (२६) यतः ततः यत्र तत्र । न श्रुतं अश्रुतवदु-  
पेक्षितम् ॥ (३२) मन्त्रवत् मन्त्रसहितम् ॥ (३४) व्यंजनं स्मश्रु ॥

१ B om from संवास° up to अतिक्रान्तः. २ C ते वने न्यवसन्वीराः घ्नन्तः.

३ C जगाम तपसा ध्यात्वा. ४ B b कुन्तीपुत्राः. ५ Mss पश्यामि. ६ Ed प्राद्रवेयम्.

[१४६]

( १ ) वैद्यस्य विद्यावेतुः ॥ ( २२ ) व्युष्टिः फलम् ॥ ( ३१ ) मृता-  
मपि मां प्राकृतं जीवनं न तप्स्यति । कारितलोपान्न तापयिष्यति । अपत्यादिना  
कृतार्थत्वात् ॥ ( ३३ ) वेत्स्यसि लप्स्यसे ॥ ( ३४ ) पूर्वस्य परिणेतुः ॥

[१४७]

( १ ) क्षमं युक्तम् ॥ ( ४ ) पुववत् पुवनेवेति ॥ ( १३ ) मोक्षार्णं  
बकात् ॥ ( १५ ) त्यक्तव्यां वरयापि ॥ ( १८ ) अमृते मरणरहिते ॥  
( 1623\* ) इतः बकराक्षसात् । प्रदाने खण्डने सति ॥ ( २१ ) स्वसुः  
भगिन्याः ॥

[१४८]

( १ ) कुतोमूलं किमूलं किंकारणमिति यावत् ॥ ( ७ ) असुतरो  
दुस्तरः ॥ ( ११ ) कस्य वस्तव्याः कस्य वासायितुं शक्याः ॥ ( १४ )  
वारः क्रमागतः कालः ॥ ( १६ ) असुतरः दुस्तरः । असुभिस्तीर्यत  
इति वाँ ॥

[१४९]

( ६ ) आत्मनः इति ज्ञानमुपलक्षयति ॥ ( ९ ) अभिसन्धिः  
ज्ञानम् ॥

[१५०]

( २ ) आकारेण मुखादिविकारेण ॥ ( ३ ) कश्चित् प्रश्ने ॥  
( १५ ) निर्व्यूढाः स्कन्धेन निःसारिताः ॥ ( २० ) अर्थः प्रयोजनं  
कार्यम् ॥ ( २५ ) आशुतरा शीघ्रतरा प्रज्ञा यस्य ॥ ( २६ ) आर्तस्य  
भीतस्य । अनुक्रोशः कृपा ॥

१ Ed विमोक्षणं, २ Ed स्वसः ( for स्वसुः ), ३ Ed वक्तव्या, ४ b Com असुभिस्तीर्यत  
इति वा, ५ After this Miss ins गह(द)ने प्राप्य, ६ Ed प्रोवाच सुतरां प्राज्ञः ( for  
प्रोवाचाशुतरप्राज्ञः ),

[१५२]

( ७ ) वेदम् संवासस्थानम् ॥ ( ८ ) काल्यं प्रातः ॥ ( ९ )  
प्रवृत्तिं वार्ता ॥ ( १२ ) आगर्णयामासुः निश्चयं कर्तुमुद्यताः ॥

[१५३]

( १ ) ते तथा पुरुषव्याघ्रा निहत्य वकराक्षसम् ।

इत्यादेः

( अ० १५५-५२ ) तथा तत्कृतवान्द्रोण आत्मकीर्त्यनुरक्षणार्थम् ।

इत्यन्तस्य पाण्डवानां धर्मः त्रिवर्गसहायो द्रौपदीं द्रोणनिराकरणद्वारेण कौरव-  
जयसहायं (?) धृष्टद्युम्नं चाद्राक्षीत् । तत्र दुर्योधनादिभिर्लोकद्वयाचरितं पापं सह-  
कारिकारणमिति । धार्तराष्ट्रकुलकालरात्रिं तां द्रौपदीं दुर्योधनोरुभङ्गमूलकारणतां  
च धृष्टद्युम्नो गमयिष्यतीति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( २ ) ब्रह्म वेदः । स च द्विविधः  
ऋग्वेदादिः धनुर्वेदश्च । तत्र ऋग्वेदादिः परं ब्रह्म ॥

[१५४]

( २१ ) छत्रवत्यां अहिच्छत्रे ॥

[१५५]

( ५ ) कल्माषपादस्येयं भूमिः कल्माषी ॥ ( ९ ) उपह्वरे एकान्ते ॥  
( १६ ) असांप्रतं अयुक्तम् । विमार्गः विरुद्धो मार्गः । संकरः वृत्तिसंकरः ।  
तयोः आदाने ग्रहणे । कथं च इत्याक्षेपे । न निषेधे ॥ ( १७ ) विविनक्ति  
विवेचयति ॥ ( १८ ) अघृणी बीभत्साश्न्यः ॥ ( २० ) जुष्टमानो  
निन्दन् वचसा । मनसा बुद्ध्या विचिन्तयन् । वेत्ति तावदयमस्मत्समीहितप्रदं  
योगमिति ॥ ( २५ ) वेगेन संस्कारेण ॥ ( ३६ ) श्रौचितं अनुब्रूहीति ।

१ b C कल्यम्. २ Ed प्रगणयामासुः. ३ B b कीर्त्यनुकरणार्थम्. C न्यनुरोधनात्.  
४ C om निराकरणम्. ५ b काल्माषी. ६ Ed विमर्शं संकराद्वा ( for विमार्गसंकराद्वा ).  
७ b वाचिन्तयन्. ८ After this C ins किमस्याचारपरिमाणं एति (?). B b ins  
किमन्याचारणयेति (?). ९ Ed अपितं.

पृषती द्रुपदमहिषी ॥ ( ४९ ) धृष्टत्वात् धृतिहेतुत्वादिति । अतिधृष्टत्वाद्  
अतिप्रागल्भ्यात् ॥ ( ५१ ) उपाकरोत् उपकृतवान् । मामयं हनिष्यतीति  
जानतोऽपि तथा प्रवृत्तिः ॥ ( ५२ ) आत्मनः क्षमाशालिता कीर्त्यनुरक्षणम् ॥

[१५६]

( १ ) एतच्छ्रुत्वा तु कौन्तेयाः शल्यविद्धा इवाभवन् ।

इत्यादेः

( अ० १५७-१६ ) पार्थान्संमन्त्र्य कुन्तीं च प्रातिष्ठंश्च परंतपोः ।

इत्यन्तस्य पञ्चानां द्रौपदीपाणिग्रहणं लोकगर्हितत्वात् पाण्डवा न कुर्युरित्याशङ्क्य  
चन्द्रमौलिना स्थापितो धर्म इत्युपकथया तान् प्रत्याययितुं व्यासस्यागमनमिति  
तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( १ ) शल्येन इव शोकेन विद्धाः । इवशब्दो भिन्नक्रमः ।  
अस्वे अनात्मनि शोकादौ तिष्ठन्तीति अस्वस्थाः ॥ ( ३ ) चिररात्रं चिरम् ।  
लब्धलक्ष्यां लब्धप्रयोजनाः ॥ ( ७ ) ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणाय हितो ब्रह्मण्यः ॥  
( ८ ) न क्षमो न युक्तः ॥ ( ११ ) आमन्त्र्य पृष्ट्वा ॥

[१५७]

( ६ ) विलग्नमध्या तनुमध्या ॥

[१५८]

( १ ) ते प्रतस्थुः पुरस्कृत्य मातरं पुरुषर्षभाः ।

इत्यादेः

( अ० १५९-२२ ) ब्राह्मणप्रमुखं राज्यं शक्यं पालयितुं चिरम् ।

१ Ed मा त्वं विप्रेहि ( for पृषति प्रेहि ). २ After this B b ins अक्षरसाम्यादर्थ-  
साधर्म्यं (?) तथा अर्थान्तरप्रतिपत्तिनिगमः । धृकारसाधर्म्याद् धृतिहेतुत्वं गम्यते । O om the  
remaining com. on this Adh. ३ Ed अतिधृष्टत्वात्. ४ After this B b ins  
इति व्याकरणव्युत्पत्तिः । अतिप्रागल्भ्यं च मर्थ ( corrupt ) कवचस्य समर्थ (?) स्योत्पत्तिः । धर्माद्  
युम्नत्ववा (?) बत्वा ) वित्यापि निगमः । धर्मार्थकामानां तु संभव उद्भवः अत्र युकारसाधर्म्यात्.  
५ Ed पार्थानामन्त्र्य कुन्तीं च प्रातिष्ठत महातपाः. ६ Ed लब्धप्रेसाः. ७ b भरतर्षभाः.

त्यन्तस्य पुरोहितहीनस्य भूभुजो दृष्टा शापादयः अदृष्टा प्रहविनायकादयो विभ्रा  
 प्रमवन्तीति पुरोहितः कर्तव्य इति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( ४ ) ईर्ष्यन् असहमानः ॥  
 ( ५ ) आविष्टः परवशीकृतः ॥ ( ७ ) आगमे गतिछेदे अपगमे इति यावत् ।  
 त्रुटिः निमेषः । निमेषद्वयं क्षणः\* । क्षणाः षष्टिः घटिकाद्वयम् । अशीतित्रुटि-  
 हीनं युद्धं सन्ध्या ॥ ( ८ ) कर्मचार्यः कर्मानुष्ठानानि ॥ ( ९ ) उपक्रान्तान्  
 स्तान् ॥ ( ११ ) आरात् दूरे ॥ ( १२ ) वित्तं जानीत ॥  
 ( १३ ) वाकां वाकानाम्नीं नदीम् । अनु अनन्तरम् ॥ ( १४ ) शर्कुनाः  
 पक्षिणः ॥ ( १५ ) परिग्रहः संबन्धः ॥ ( १६ ) अवधृष्यन्वः अप्राण-  
 यन्तः ॥ ( १८ ) एकवप्रा शुचिः अशुचिः गङ्गा अलकनन्दा ॥  
 ( १९ ) वैतरणी दुःपारा चेति स्थानभेदात् गङ्गानामानि ॥ ( २० ) असं-  
 बाधा असंकटा ॥ ( २३ ) चर्म फलकम् । अपोवाहं निवारितवान् ॥  
 ( २५ ) अति गन्धर्वान् गन्धर्वाधिकान् ॥ ( २७ ) अग्निवेश्यः परशु-  
 रामः ॥ ( ३० ) भ्रातृन् प्रति यत्रास्य भ्रातरस्तत्राकृष्टवान् ॥ ( ३३ )  
 स्त्री नाथ इव नाथो रक्षको यस्य ॥ ( ३४ ) अङ्ग इति संबोधने ॥ ( ३६ )  
 साधु इत्युपालम्भे । इमं लाभं परिभर्वाख्यं आगच्छत्यस्मादिति ॥ ( ४१ )  
 आगमो गुरुपरंपरा ॥ ( ४३ ) समानपद्ये तपःस्थानके समीपतया द्रव्ये ।  
 अन्वयः ॥ त्वां प्रापयिष्यामि ॥ ( ४४ ) नृम्यः पुरुषेभ्यः । विशेषिताः  
 विशेषाः । सार्वविभक्तिकस्तसि ल् । देवानां अविशिष्टः समः । अनुभावः प्रभावः ।  
 प्रवर्तिताः भविष्यन्ति ॥ ( ४६ ) रंहसः वेगान् ॥ ( ४८ ) साधनं  
 हस्त्यश्वादि ॥ ( ५० ) रथस्य अङ्गं अश्वम् । वडवा घोटिका । मताः  
 श्लाघ्याः ॥ ( ५१ ) गन्धर्वजा गन्धर्वलोकजाः ॥ ( ५३ ) संभोगैः  
 परस्परोपकारः ॥

[१५९]

( १ ) यान्तो गच्छन्तः । ब्रह्मविदो वेदविदः ॥ ( १० ) बाहु-

१ ईर्ष्युः. २ Ed अमेष्टु (for अमेष्टु). ३ Ed त्रुट (for त्रुटि). ४ Ed कामचारम्.  
 ५ Ed उपक्रान्ता. ६ Ed कुणपाः. ७ Ed अवधृष्युमः. ८ Ed दुस्तरा. ९ Ed व्यपोवाह.  
 १० Com परिभवाख्यं ११ Ed संयोगः.

\*क्षण usually = 4 त्रुटि.

द्रविणं बाहुबलम् ॥ ( ११ ) मन्युः क्रोधः ॥ ( १२ ) संख्ये संग्रामे ।  
तापत्यवर्धन इति अर्जुनामन्त्रणे ॥ ( १५ ) पुरोहितः एव धूः अग्रणीः  
तस्मिन् अथ वा पुरोहितस्य धूः चिन्ता तां गतः ॥ ( १७ ) शुचयः सङ्ग-  
वर्जिताः ॥ ( २० ) मेरुः चासौ धरः पर्वतो मेरुधरः ॥

[१६०]

( १ ) तापत्य इति यद्वाक्यं कथानसि मामिह ।

इत्यादेः

( अ० १६३—२३ ) तपत्यां तपतां श्रेष्ठ तापत्यस्त्वं ततोऽर्जुन ।

इत्यन्तस्य सति पुरोहिते अतिदूरे विघ्नाः । ये मनसाभिलष्यन्ते पुरुषार्थास्ते हस्त-  
गताः स्युर्यथा संवरणस्य वसिष्ठप्रसादात् तपती प्राप्तिरिति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( ५ )  
त्रिः<sup>३</sup> त्रीन् वारान् ॥ ( ६ ) धिष्येन दिव्येन ॥ ( ७ ) आविष्यवरा  
सावित्रीकनीयसी ॥ ( १० ) तर्कयामास मेने ॥ ( २६ ) स्वसितलोचना  
शोभने असिते लोचने यस्याः । गिरिप्रस्थे गिरिसानौ । क्षुपो विटपः ॥  
( 1723\* ) तपत्या कान्त्या ॥ ( 1724\* ) हिरण्मयैः सुवर्णमय इति ॥  
( २७ ) अवमेने अवज्ञातवान् ॥ ( ३० ) आविष्कृतं प्रकटीकृतम् ॥  
( ३१ ) द्रविणस्य अलंकारस्य संपदा ॥ ( ३४ ) रम्भा कदली ॥  
( ३६ ) भोगवती भोगः फणा तद्वती ॥ ( ४० ) अन्विच्छन् अनुसरन् ॥

[१६१]

( ४ ) आविष्कृतं उद्धृतम् ॥ ( ६ ) संदिग्धाक्षरया अस्फुटा-  
क्षरया ॥ ( ९ ) अनाक्रन्दे शोकशून्ये ॥ ( ७ ) असितापाङ्गि इत्या-  
दीनि भूयोभूयस्तपत्याः संबोधनानि राज्ञः तस्य मन्मथकृतानि चादूनि रागमुदार-  
मवश्यमुदत्पादयन्ति ॥

[१६२]

( २ ) अनुयात्रं अनुयायि बलम् ॥ ( ६ ) कल्याणी सदया इति

१ C om from पुरोहितः up to अथ वा. २ Ed मेरुवर. ३ Ed यद्वचः (for त्रिवचः).  
४ Ed हिरण्मयी. ५ B b om भोगवती. ६ Ed आविष्कृतः.

मधुरा ॥ ( ७ ) शात्रवाणां शत्रुसंधानाम् ॥ ( १४ ) दिव्येन विधिना योगबलेन ॥

[१६३]

( ४ ) अपवर्जनात् अन्यत्र किम् ॥ ( ६ ) विसृष्टो विसर्जितः ॥  
 ( ८ ) कृच्छ्रे क्लेशावहे । प्रायश्चित्ते द्वादशरात्रसमाख्ये । समाहिते समाप्ते ॥  
 ( १६ ) श्यावभूतैः कृष्णैः ॥ ( १८ ) द्वादशीः समाः द्वादश वर्षाणि ॥  
 ( २२ ) पौर्विकां पूर्वभर्वा । वैवस्वती विवस्वत्सुता ॥

[१६४]

( १ ) स गन्धर्ववचः श्रुत्वा तत्तदा भरतर्षभ ।

इत्यादेः

( १४ ) तस्मात्पुरोहितः कश्चिद्गुणवानस्तु वो द्विजः ।

इत्यन्तस्य समस्तगुणसंपन्नः पुरोहितः कार्यः इति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( ५ ) संव-  
 वाहतुः मर्दितवन्तौ ॥ ( ८ ) आहर्तुं आनेतुम् । यमक्षयात् यमगृहात् ॥  
 ( ९ ) विश्रुतात्मानं ख्यातम् ॥ ( १४ ) ब्रह्म ब्राह्मणः । अथवा ब्रह्मणः  
 कार्यं ब्रह्मकार्यं उत्पत्तिः सैव पुरःसरी यस्य तत्तथा ॥

[१६५]

( १ ) किं निमित्तमभूद्युद्धं विश्वामित्रवासिभ्योः ।

इत्यादेः

( अ० १६८—२५ ) अश्वको नाम राजर्षिः पार्थनं यो न्यवेशयत् ।

इत्यन्तस्य क्षत्रात्तेजसो ब्राह्मं तेजो बलवत् तच्च क्षमया रक्षितं तस्मात् क्षमावन्तं  
 तेजस्विनं ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रतेजोरक्षायै पुरोहितं कुर्यादित्यर्थः ॥ ( ५ ) मरु  
 निर्जलो देशः स एव धन्वा निर्वृक्षत्वात् ॥ ( ८ ) वन्येन नीबारादिना ॥

१ Ed समाहिते. २ Ed शवभूतैः. ३ Ed पौर्विकी. ४ C पूर्वतरा. ५ C छर्यहता.  
 ६ Ed विजितात्मानं. ७ Ed वेरं ( for युद्धं ). ८ Ed पोतनं. C पारिवं (?).

रसायनं रसानां षण्णां अयनं स्थानम् ॥ (१३) शृङ्गपुच्छसन्ना-  
सन्धियस्तनशिरोग्रीवासु आयतां दीर्घाम् । पृथुभिः पञ्चभिः उरः पृष्ठशिरः कुक्षि-  
श्रोणीभिः समावृतां परिवेष्टिताम् । मण्डूकस्य इव उन्नते नेत्रे यस्याः । ऊचः  
पयोधरमण्डलम् ॥ (१४) बालाधिः पुच्छम् । शङ्कुकर्णा शङ्कुवत् सूक्ष्मौ  
कर्णौ यस्याः । पुष्टायतशिरोग्रीवा पुष्टं पीनं आयतं दीर्घं शिरो ग्रीवा यस्याः ।  
आयतमिति पुनरुक्तिर्यस्य पुष्टिमाह ॥ (१८) वीर्यं वीरस्य भावः ॥ (२२)  
कञ्चादण्डैः चर्मयष्टिभिः । हंभा इति गर्वां ध्वनेरनुकरणम् ॥ (२४) क्षमा-  
वान् प्रतिकारकुद्धेरनुत्पादवान् ॥ (२६) पाषाणदण्डामिहतां पाषाणैः दण्डै-  
श्चाभिहताम् ॥ (२७) न चुक्षुमे न क्रुद्धवान् । धीरस्य भावो धैर्यं निर्वि-  
कारता ॥ (३१) ऊर्ध्वाञ्चितं उन्नमितम् ॥ (३३) काल्यमाना प्रेर्य-  
माणा ॥ (३५) शुकृतो गोमयात् ॥ (३९) ते नन्दिनीसमुद्भूताः ॥  
(४१) निर्विण्णः विरक्तः ॥ (४४) विष्टभ्य व्याप्य । सुतं पवित्रम् ॥

[१६६]

( 1777\* ) याज्यः शिष्यः तस्य अर्थः प्रयोजनं यागः ॥ (३)  
एकायनगतः एकरथगतः ॥ (४) प्रतिमुखगतं संमुखम् ॥ (६)  
धर्मपथे धर्ममार्गे । उत्तमानामधमं दृष्ट्वा मार्गात्यागस्य शिष्टाचारप्राप्तत्वात् । मुने-  
र्मानात् मुनेरहंकारात् राज्ञा समारोपितात् । क्रोधाच्च स्वगतात् ॥ (९)  
पुरुषादः राक्षसः ॥ (१०) वीर्यं तपसि प्रयत्नः तदेव शक्तिः यस्य ॥  
(११) याज्यो यजमानः । अन्वपद्यत वसिष्ठं लक्ष्मीकृत्य गतवान् ॥ (१२)  
तयोः शक्तिसौदासयोः । तौ शक्तिसौदासौ । उपचक्रमे उपक्रमं कृतवान् । शक्तिं  
प्रति राक्षसं प्रेरयितुम् ॥ (२१) मित्राणि सहते पालयति मित्रसहः ।  
आस्त्व तिष्ठ ॥ (२४) सुदं रूपकारम् । प्रतिश्रुतं प्रतिज्ञातम् ॥ (२६)  
व्यथान्वितः मांसं नास्तीति दुःखितः ॥ (२८) संस्थानं गृहम् । वध्य-  
घातिनां सापराधनरघातिनाम् ॥ (२९) अपिहितं पिहितम् ॥ (३०)

१ B परं, b पलं (?). २ Ed विपृष्टं पञ्चसंवृतां (for पृथुपञ्चसमावृतां). ३ C om  
वक्ष्यो. ४ C विविक्तः. ५ C अभिमुखगतं. ६ C om क्रोधाच्च स्वगतात्. ७ Mss अनुपद्यत  
(corrupt). ८ C दुःखान्वितः. ९ Ed उपहितं.



सिद्धचक्षुषा दिव्यज्ञानेन ॥ ( ३१ ) लोलुपा लम्पटत्वम् ॥ ( ३२ )  
सक्तः आसक्तः ॥ ( ३३ ) द्विदुष्यादुतो द्विरुक्तः । शक्तिर्ना भोजना-  
र्थिना विप्रेण च । विसंज्ञो विगतज्ञानः ॥ ( ३५ ) त्वत्तः त्वामेवाधिकृत्य ॥  
( ४३ ) इद्धा प्रज्वाल्य ॥

[१६७]

( ११ ) संगत्या संनिधानेन ॥ ( १२ ) अहं पूज्यम् ॥

[१६८]

( १० ) निदेशे<sup>१</sup> आज्ञायाम् ॥ ( १४ ) पुरंवरं नगरम् ॥

[१६९]

( १ ) आश्रमस्था ततः पुत्रमदृश्यन्ती व्यजायत ।

इत्यादेः

( अ० १७२-१७ ) भक्षयन्दृश्यते वह्निः सदा पर्वणि पर्वणि ।

इत्यन्तस्य क्षमासाराणां ब्राह्मणानां सर्वतेजसामुपरि वर्तमानं तेजः कुतोऽपि गुण-  
दोषादुपचाराद्विकुर्वाणं त्रैलोक्यदहनक्षमं केनापि दुरुपसंहारं तैरेव स्वभावोन्मील-  
त्करुणरसैः पुनराश्रितमैत्रिकैः क्षमाप्रहरणैरुपसंहर्तुं शक्यते । तस्मान्नविष्णुभि-  
र्ब्राह्मणां माननीया इति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( ३ ) परासुः गतासुरिव गर्भस्थेन एव  
जीविते स्थापित इति तस्य पराश्वरसंज्ञा ॥ ( ८ ) आर्यः पितामहः ॥  
( ९ ) लोकेऽन्ते पश्यन्तीति लोकाः ॥ ( १२ ) अग्रे भुज्जत इति अग्रभुजः ॥  
( १३ ) तत्तल्लेयानां तत्कुले भवानाम् ॥ ( १४ ) याचिष्णवः याचन-  
शीलाः ॥ ( १६ ) कारणान्तरात्<sup>१३</sup> चिरजीवननिर्वेदात् ॥ ( २१ ) मुष्णन्  
खण्डयन् ॥

१ Ed व्याहृते. २ Mss शक्ति ( for शक्ति ). ३ Ed अहं त्वदृश्यती ( for अर्हाह-  
मित्यदृश्यती ). ४ After this Mss ins स्त्वं गर्भस्त्राणम्. ५ C निदेशे. ६ B b आज्ञा-  
पालने. ७ b om पुरवरं. C पौवन (?). ८ C तच्छिष्यभिः (?). ९ C om ब्राह्मणाः. १०  
After this Mss ins गृणन्ति हिंसन्तीति सर्वा राक्षसाः न एव. ११ B b लोकान्. १२  
Ed कारणान्तरदर्शनात्.

[१७०]

( १ ) तात इति जालपेक्षया ॥ . ( ६ ) याचध्वं इति शक्त्यपेक्षया ॥  
( ११ ) अपचितिं पूजाम् ॥ ( १४ ) नियच्छ निवारय ॥ ( १६ )  
प्रकृष्टमेत, बहुलतमेन । क्षत्रियैः हेतुभिः ॥ ( 1789\* ) धनाध्यक्षः  
कुबेरः ॥

[१७१]

( २ ) रोषकृता प्रतिज्ञा रोषप्रतिज्ञा । गर्भः अरणेः अग्निः ॥ ( ३ )  
नालं न समर्थः ॥ ( ४ ) स्थाने युक्तम् ॥ ( ७ ) पूर्णकोशाः पूर्णभाण्डा-  
गाराः । परायणं शरणम् ॥ ( ११ ) तेनैव पापकर्मणा ॥ ( १३ ) सम-  
भिवर्तितुं कर्तुम् ॥ ( २१ ) वरुणालये समुदे ॥

[१७२]

( ४ ) मा भाङ्गं मा भञ्जेयम् ॥ ( ८ ) समापिपायिषुः समापयितु-  
मिच्छुः ॥ ( ११ ) अपविघ्नं विघ्नाभार्वैः ॥ ( १३ ) शक्त्यवरजाः शक्ति-  
कनिष्ठाः ॥

[१७३]

( १ ) राज्ञा कल्माषपादेन गुरौ ब्रह्मविदां वरे ।  
इत्यादेः

( २४ ) खदारे भरतश्रेष्ठ शापदोषसमन्वितः ।

इत्यन्तस्य ब्रह्मशापस्य दुरतिक्रमणीयता तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( २ ) लोकस्थेदं  
लौक्यम् । अगम्या वसिष्ठाभार्यात्वात् ॥ ( ३ ) अमित्रंसहं कल्माषपादम् ॥  
( ७ ) संनादः नार्दः ॥

१ C om याचध्वमिति शक्त्यपेक्षया, २ Ed हि प्रकृष्टेन, ३ Ed अग्निः, ४ Ed  
आपूर्णकोशाः, ५ Ed समनिवर्तितुम्, C समविघ्नितुम्, ६ After this Mss ins अपक्रमः  
तवापकार्ये ( स्वकार्ये ) पितृलक्षणे कोपकरणात्, ७ Ed ये च शक्त्यवराः, ८ Ed लोक्यं,  
९ B b शिष्टाभार्यात्वात् (?), C शिष्टभार्या, १० B b मित्रसहः, C केमित्र° (?), ११ C  
om संनादो नादः.

[१७४]

(१) अस्माकमनुरूपो वै यः स्याद्गन्धर्ववेदवित् ।

इत्यादेः

(१२) मेनिरे सहिता गन्तुं पाञ्चाल्यास्तं स्वयंवरः ।

इत्यन्तस्य पुरोहितपरिग्रहः तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (७) प्रतिजग्राह स्वीकृतवान् ॥

(८) आशंसिरे आशंसां कृतवन्तः ॥ (९) मातृषष्टाः माता षष्ठी येषाम् ॥

[१७५]

(१) ततस्ते कुरुशार्दूलां आतरः पञ्च पाण्डवाः ।

इत्यादेः

(अ० १९०-१८) विजङ्गुरिन्द्रप्रतिमा महाबलाः

पुरे स्मं पाञ्चालनृपस्य तस्य ह ।

इत्यन्तस्य क्षत्रतेजसां सर्वान् दोर्दपभूयः (?) अभिभूय पाञ्चालीं धर्मपत्नीं पाण्ड-  
वास्तत्रापि च तदन्तर्गतपञ्चेन्द्रोपाख्यानतात्पर्यभूतेन नारायणमहेश्वरस्थापितेन  
एकस्याः पञ्चभर्तृत्वलक्षणेन पुराराधेन धर्मेणासादितवन्तः इति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥

(१) देवमहोत्सवः स्वयंवरः ॥ (३) कुतः कस्मिन् ॥ (५) भविता

भविष्यति ॥ माया मायायुद्धम् ॥ (१६) वैतालिकाः मङ्गलपाठकाः ।

सूताः प्रबोधकाः । मागधाः स्तुतिपाठकाः । नियोधकाः मन्त्राः ॥

[१७६]

(३) क्षयं गृहम् ॥ (५) आनुपूर्व्येण क्रमेण ॥ (६) स्कन्धा-

वारं सेनानिवेशम् ॥ (७) न जज्ञिरे न ज्ञातवन्तः ॥ (८) विवृणोति

प्रकाशयति ॥ (९) अनर्गम्यं नामयितुं अशक्यम् ॥ (१०) वैहायसं

गगनगम् ॥ (१८) परार्ध्यागुरुः कृष्णागुरुः ॥ (२२) असंवाधः

१ Ed. नरशार्दूला. २ Ed. पुं द्व. B b प्रवेद्य. ३ C ज्ञानेन तेजसा. ४ B b दोर्दप-  
भूतोभिभूत (?). C दोर्दपभूयोभिभूय. ५ After this Mss ins एते ब्रूयम्. ६ Ed. अनायम्.

असंकटः ॥ (२६) परार्धेषु उत्कृष्टेषु ॥ (२७) ऋद्धिं विभूतिम् ॥  
(३०) वीरकांस्यं मालाम् ॥ (३४) खगैः शरैः । दशार्धैः पञ्चभिः ॥

[१७८]

(३) संकल्पजेन कामेन ॥ (१५) संननाय शत्रुवधाय उपपन्नं  
युक्तम् ॥ (१८) विधिस्तवादेशु विगतक्षेपवादेशु ॥

[१७९]

(२) उदक्रोशन् कोलाहलमकुर्वन् । इन्द्रकेतुः इन्द्रध्वजः ॥ (६)  
अवहास्या हास्यपात्रम् ॥ (७) मा गर्मः मा गच्छ ॥ (११)  
संस्थानचारैः मरणधर्मकेषु ॥ (१४) अभ्याशे समीपे ॥ (१८)  
चेलावधृतं वलभ्रमणम् । हाहाकारान् अद्भुतजयान् ॥ (१९) शताङ्गानि  
शतभेदानि ॥ (२१) मा जानीरयुरस्मान् जना इति आवासगमनकारणम् ॥  
(२२) उत्स्मयन्ती प्रहर्षन्ती ॥

[१८०]

(३) वृद्धत्वं संख्यापेक्षया ॥ (५) समावाये समूहे । संनये  
सभायाम् ॥ (१२) शरावापं धनुः ॥ (१३) प्रतीयतुः संमुखौ  
बभूवतुः ॥

[१८१]

(४) शुल्कं पणः ॥ (१६) हरिहयः इन्द्रः ॥ (२०) विष्टितो<sup>१</sup>  
विशेषेण स्थितः ॥ (२१) अजैर्यं अजेयम् ॥ (१८७८\*) प्रकर्षणं प्रक्षेपणम् ।  
आकर्षणं अभिमुखानयनम् । अभ्याकर्षणं सर्वतः कर्षणम् । विकर्षणं दूरं  
नीत्वा पुनराकर्षणम् ॥ (२४) न्यवधीत् पातयामास ॥ (३१) अपहारैः  
निवर्तनसंज्ञा ॥ (१८८३\*) अत्यन्यान् अन्यानतिक्रान्तान् ॥ (३६)

१ Ed निक्षिप्तं. २ Ed गमत्. ३ Ed चेलाविधोस्तनः. ४ Ed निष्ठितः. ५ B  
असज्जं. b आसज्यं. ६ Ed अवहारैः. ७ Ed प्रतिविज्ञौ.

[१८२]

( १ ) भार्गवः कुलालः 'भस्ज् पाके' इत्यस्मात् ॥ ( ५ ) न उपवर्तेत न समाक्रामेत् ॥ ( ८ ) निवेश्यः विवाहः ॥

[१८४]

( ६ ) संहननेन दार्ढ्येन ॥ ( ७ ) अवजहुः नीतवन्तः ॥ ( ९ ) अगस्त्येन शान्ता शमिता विन्ध्यवृद्धयाद्युपद्रवाः । पुरस्तात् अप्रतः । तिरश्च इति तिर्यक् । पाचैः पञ्चानां पादानां प्रति । पाच्छब्दः पादपर्यायः ॥ ( १० ) पादाः उपधानं शिरःस्थानं यस्याः । कुशेषु कुशशयनेषु । कृता स्थापिता ॥ ( ११ ) पृतनायां सेनायां अधिकारः प्रयोजनं यासाम् ॥ ( १३ ) वृत्तं दृष्टचरितम् । पृथग् निवेदितं कथितम् ॥ ( १४ ) अप्रतिविन्दमानः प्रतिपत्तिरूपं लाभमलभमानः ॥ ( १५ ) करदेन सिद्धादायदात्रा । निदिग्धं विनिहितम् । दिग्धं लिप्तम् ॥ ( १६ ) सवर्णप्रवरः अस्मत्समानवर्णज्येष्ठः क्षत्रिय इति यावत् । उद्विक्तवर्णः ब्राह्मणः । अभिमर्शेन हरणेन ॥ ( १७ ) यक्ष्ये मोदे । प्रतीतो दृष्टः ॥

[१८५]

( १ ) प्रबर्हः उत्तमः ॥ ( २ ) ज्यायर्तलोहिताक्षः विपुले आयते लोहिते अक्षिणी यस्य ॥ ( ३ ) असज्जमानः अलग्नः । वज्री इन्द्रः । जुष्टः सेवितः ॥ ( ५ ) महीप्ररोहः वृक्षः ॥ ( ९ ) परिविश्यं दत्त्वा । ब्राह्मणसात् ब्राह्मणवशम् ॥ ( २५ ) सोमस्यापत्यं सौमकिः ॥

[१८६]

( १ ) जन्यार्थं दुहितुः पर्यर्थम् ॥ ( २ ) परैत आगच्छत । निवेशनं गृहम् ॥ ( ३ ) प्रयास्यं प्रस्थाप्य ॥ ( १० ) गूढोत्तरांसात्

१ b C om भस्ज् पाके इत्यस्मात्. २ Ed शास्ता. ३ Ed पत्तः. ४ C कथयामि. ५ Mas consider also the reading मे न दिग्धे. ६ Ed स्वायत<sup>०</sup>. ७ C असज्जमानः अस्पर्शनः. ८ C om जुष्टः सेवितः. ९ Ed परिविश्य. १० After this Mas ins नरेवो राजा. ११ Ed प्रयाप्य, C प्रवास्य.

मांसलांसान् ॥ ( १३ ) उच्चावचं नानाविधम् ॥ ( १४ ) सां. अभिकानि  
शस्त्राणि ॥

[१८७]

( १ ) ब्राह्मेण परिग्रहेण दक्षिणाङ्गुष्ठप्रग्रहणेन<sup>१</sup> ॥ ( ३ ) उत्  
वितर्के ॥ ( ५ ) संशयस्यान्ते संशयछेदे ॥ ( ७ ) आस्थास्यामि  
आदरं करिष्यामि ॥ ( ८ ) कामः इच्छा ॥ ( १० ) व्येतु व्यपगच्छतु ॥  
( ११ ) परायणं शरणम् ॥ ( २३ ) अनिविष्टः अविवाहितः ॥ ( २६ )  
पुंसः पुमांसः ॥ ( २८ ) अनुयामहे अनुगच्छामः ॥

[१८८]

( १ ) विप्रलब्धे विरुद्धे ॥ ( ९ ) व्यवसायं निश्चयम् ॥ ( १० )  
अभिवर्तेत अभिगच्छेत् ॥ ( १४ ) उद्वाहितवती विवाहितवती ॥

[१८९]

( १-२ ) संयच्छतीति संयत् यमः मित्रो रविः तयोरर्थे एको दीक्षितः  
शमित्रः तस्येदं कर्म शामित्रम्<sup>१</sup> । कालातिपातात् यमातिक्रमात् ॥ ( १० )  
शूरः समर्थः ॥ ( १३ ) द्रष्टासि द्रक्ष्यसि ॥ ( १४ ) आरात् समीपे ॥  
( १५ ) विश्वं सर्वम् ॥ ( १६ ) संस्तम्भितः निःस्पन्दः ॥ ( १७ )  
पर्याप्तं समाप्तम् । आत्मन्यविद्यमानगुणारोपो दर्पः ॥ ( १८ ) स्रस्तेः विकलैः ॥  
( १९ ) विवर्तय पारय । बलं शक्तिः । वीर्यं<sup>२</sup> फलपर्यन्ता शक्तिः ॥ ( २१ )  
बाल्यात् मौढ्यात् ॥ ( २२ ) अभिषङ्गात् क्रोधात् ॥ ( २३ ) उग्रं  
रुद्रम् । द्रष्टाशेषस्य सर्वज्ञः । भवः ईशः । आद्यः आदौ भवः ॥ ( २४ )  
उग्रवर्चाः<sup>३</sup> उग्रतेजाः । वंशीलाः साहंकाराः । भवितारो बभूवुः भूते  
भविष्यत्प्रयोगात् । पुरस्तात् पूर्वम् । अथवा एवं भवितार इत्यस्य त्वत्समा

१ C om दक्षिणाङ्गुष्ठप्रग्रहणेन. २ Ed अध्यासितवती. ३ C सावित्रं. ४ After this B  
b ins स्थितमानः. C ins सङ्क्रामाः. ५ C om from वीर्यं up to शक्तिः. ६ Ed द्रष्टा  
शेषस्य. ७ After this B b ins अशेषे सर्वत्र. ८ Ed उग्रधन्वा. ९ B b om भूते  
भविष्यत्प्रयोगात्.

इत्थर्थः ॥ ( २५ ) अविषह्यं परेण सोढुमशक्यम् ॥ ( २७ ) दुराधरो  
दुर्लभः । यत्र मर्त्यलोके विहितः इत्यन्वयः ॥ ( २८ ) कर्महेतोः<sup>१</sup> भू-  
भारावतारणहेतोः ॥ ( २९ ) उग्रधन्वा पिनाकी ॥ ( ३१ ) उद्धर्ह  
उद्धृतवान् ॥ ( ३७ ) पृषत्या अपत्यं पार्षती द्रौपदी ॥

[ १९० ]

( २ ) दिष्टस्य दैवस्य । ग्रन्थिः सन्धिः । कृतं कर्म । वर एव एकः  
हेतुः ॥ ( ३ ) नैकान् अनेकान् ॥ ( ४ ) यथोपजोषं यथासुखम् ॥  
( ६ ) जन्यो जामाता ॥ ( ८ ) अजिरं अङ्गणम् ॥

[ ११९ ]

( १ ) पाण्डवैः सह संयोगं गतस्य द्रुपदस्य तु ।

इत्यादेः

( १९ ) मुदा परमया युक्तो गोविन्दप्रियकाम्यया ।

इत्यन्तस्य पुरुषधैरेयैः पाण्डवैः सह कृतसंबन्धस्य द्रुपदस्य के नाम भूमिपतयः  
त्रिलोकीपतेरिन्द्रादपि भयं नास्ति इति स्त्रीरत्नेन कृष्णया च संयुक्तानां पाण्डवानां  
लक्ष्मीप्रभावोपनीतैर्धनैरहरहः पूर्यन्ते मन्दिराणीति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( ३ ) क्षौमं  
पट्टवस्त्रम् । कृते कौतुकमङ्गले यस्याः । कौतुकं आश्चर्यम् । मङ्गलं शुभम् ॥  
( ६ ) भद्रा श्रीः ॥ ( ९ ) नृपतिं अनु पश्चात् । अभिषिच्यस्व अभिषेकं  
प्राप्नुहि ॥ ( ११ ) शरदः शतं वर्षाणां शतम् ॥ ( १२ ) सप्तपुत्रां  
जातपुत्राम् ॥ ( १८ ) अकृतकं अपद्रव्यहीनम् ॥

[ १९२ ]

( १ ) ततो राज्ञश्चरैराप्तैश्चारः समुपनीयत ।

इत्यादेः

( २४ ) नित्यं भवतु ते बुद्धिरेषा राजन् शतं समाः ।

इत्यन्तस्य द्रौपदीपाणिग्रहणसमये भीमार्जुनयोरद्भुतं कर्म दृष्ट्वा संशयितचेतसां

महीभुजां चारद्वारा पाण्डवज्ञानं तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( १ ) चारो वार्ता ॥ ( ४ )  
तात्मेनः धैर्यस्थापितात्मनः ॥ ( ९ ) मातुलेन शकुनिना ॥ ( १२ )  
घरन्ति जीवन्ति । हरन्ति इति यावत् । द्रौपदीमिति शेषः ॥ ( २३ )  
क्षत्तः हे विदुर । भवेन विभूत्या ॥

( २५ ) ततो दुर्योधनश्चैव राधेयश्च विशांपते ।

इत्यादेः

( अ० १९८-६ ) दिष्ट्या मम महद् दुःखद्वयीं महाद्युते ।

इत्यन्तस्य दुर्योधनकर्णयोस्तामसं कुलोच्छेदकरं मतमवज्ञाय भूमिद्रोणयोस्तु तदन्वये  
विशुद्धं कुरुपाण्डवानां सर्वमहीभुजां च श्रेयस्करं मन्त्रं मधुराभिर्वाग्भिः सोपपत्ति-  
भिर्भूतराष्ट्रं विदुरो ग्राहयामास । गृहीतमन्त्रश्च धृतराष्ट्रः कृतार्थमात्मानं मन्यमानः  
तदनुष्ठातुं प्रवृत्त इति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥

[ १९३ ]

( १ ) विवेक्तुं पृथक्कर्तुम् । आकारं भावसूचकं मुखादिविकारम् ॥  
( २ ) इङ्गितैः इङ्गितसूचकैर्वागादिविकारैः । लिङ्गैः लिङ्गयुपचारात् ॥ ( ४ )  
शोभनं कृतं कर्म येषां तैः सुकृतैः । आप्ताः तत्त्वज्ञानकारुण्यवन्तः तद्वत्करण-  
शीलैः ॥ ( ९ ) व्युत्थापयन्तु निन्दन्तु । बहुत्वात् पतीनां । यद्येकस्मान्न  
भिद्येत द्वितीयादेव भिद्येतापीति सुकरत्वं उक्तम् ॥ ( १९६०\* ) न संमन्यते  
न सम्यक्तया गणयति । तीक्ष्णः कोपनः । मूढैः अविवेकः ॥ ( १२ ) न  
पादभाक् न चतुर्थांशभाक् ॥ ( १३ ) जानमानाः जानीनाः । भूमिसेनं  
मही च । ऋते विना । नशिष्यन्ति मरणेन पलायनेन वा ॥ ( १४ )  
निबर्हणे मारणे ॥ ( १६ ) लोप्त्रहारैः वल्लीचोरैः ॥ ( १७ ) पुरा अग्रतः ॥

[ १९४ ]

( २ ) सूक्ष्मैः दुर्विज्ञेयैः । न क्षर्ताः न हताः ॥ ( ४ ) अच्युत  
पौरुषादेरचलित ॥ ( ५ ) दिष्टेन दैवेन कृताः । न विद्यते पुरुष एवेति

१ B b पाण्डवतत्त्वज्ञानं. २ Ed महात्मनः. ३ Ed परं. ४ Ed न मन्यते. ५ Ed  
शूरः ( for सुदः ). ६ B b om जानानाः. ७ B b सू( ? )देः. ८ Ed शकिताः ( न क्षताः ).  
१२



शेषः ॥ ( ७ ) परिघ्नान् मैक्ष्यभुजः । मृजावतो मूषावतः ॥ ( ८ )  
 एकस्या बहुभर्तृता स्त्रीणामीप्सितो गुणः इत्यन्वयः ॥ ( ९ ) आर्यवर्तः  
 पण्डितव्रतः ॥ ( १२ ) लघुः बालः ॥ ( २० ) मधुरेण साम्ना ॥

[ १९५ ]

( १३ ) न सकामो न संपूर्णमनोरथः । अत्ययं विनाशं गतः इत्यर्थः ॥

[ १९६ ]

( ४ ) मिथःकृत्यं वधूवरयोः करणार्हम् । वृद्धिः लक्ष्मीवृद्धिः ।  
 त्वत्संयोगोद्भवां त्वत्तो ब्रूयात् इत्यन्वयः ॥ ( ७ ) शुभ्राणि निर्दोषाणि ॥  
 ( ९ ) सान्त्वं मधुरम् ॥ ( १२ ) औपयिकं उचितम् ॥ ( १३ )  
 अनन्तरौ संनिहितौ ॥ ( १५ ) विधिपूर्वं विहितम् ॥ ( १८ ) करणैः  
 उपकरणैः गजादिभिः । उच्छ्वास एव परमं कार्यं यस्य । अमात्यसंस्थः  
 अमात्ये परवशः ॥ ( १९ ) एक एव ईश्वरः ॥ ( २३ ) किमन्यद्  
 बहु कथ्यते । विहिता विधिप्राप्ता । पुरुषेन्द्रता नरेन्द्रता ॥ ( २४ ) मिषतः  
 जीवतः ॥

[ १९७ ]

( ६ ) अनवमौ उत्कृष्टौ ॥ ( ९ ) जिह्वां कुटिलम् ॥ ( १० )  
 मेनाते मितवन्तौ ॥ ( १३ ) अन्तरस्थं भेदस्थम् ॥ ( २० ) रामः  
 बलभद्रः ॥

[ १९८ ]

( ७ ) ततो जगाम विदुरो धृतराष्ट्रस्य शासनात् ।

इत्यादेः

( अ० १९९-५० ) ययौ द्वाारवतीं राजन् पाण्डवानुमते तदा ।

इत्यन्तस्य विपाकोन्मुखेन पाण्डवानां धर्मेण त्रिलोकीकर्तुर्नारायणस्यांशं आत्म-

सात्कृत्य दुर्योधनादिमतमधरीकृत्य पुरस्कृत्य विदुरमन्त्रं प्रवर्तितो धृतराष्ट्रः पाण्डवान्  
राज्ये स्थापितवानिति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( ८ ) संयुक्तं कृतसंबन्धम् ॥ ( ९ )  
प्रश्नसंविदं प्रश्नालापम् ॥ ( १० ) अनामयं आरोग्यम् ॥ ( १४ )  
विनयात् यथार्हायाः प्रवृत्तेः । प्रसृतं लज्जादिभिरजडीकृतं यथा भवति ॥  
( २० ) संबन्धमेव सांबन्धकम् ॥

[ १९९ ]

( ५ ) परवन्तः पराधीनाः ॥ ( ७ ) प्राप्तकालं उचितम् ॥ ( ९ )  
ध्यायति चिन्तयति ॥ ( ११ ) सविहारं सक्रीडम् ॥ ( १२ ) प्रतिग्रहाय  
प्रत्युत्थानाय ॥ ( १५ ) कौतूहलेन दर्शनेच्छया ॥ ( ३१ ) द्विपानि  
च तानि कपाटाभ्यां गरुडप्रख्यानि च तानि प्रस्थानकत्वात् ॥ ( ३२ ) बैलैः  
रक्षिभिः पुरुषैः । बलानां विशेषणं अभ्यासिकैः इति । अभ्यस्यन्ते शरादी-  
न्यस्त्राणि येभ्य उपायभूतैः ॥ ( ३४ ) देवताबाधवर्जितं दैवीभिरापद्धिर्वर्जि-  
तम् ॥ ( ३६ ) धनाध्यक्षक्षयोपमं कुबेरगृहोपमम् ॥ ( ३७ ) भाषा  
संस्कृतप्राकृतरूपा नानादेशीया वा ॥ ( ४४ ) जगतिपर्वतैः क्रीडापर्वतैः ॥  
( ४६ ) बृहन्ति बहूनि । महान्ति महापरिमाणानि ॥ ( ४७ ) पुण्यजनाः  
धार्मिकाः । श्वः श्वः प्रातः प्रातः ॥ ( ४८ ) धर्मप्रणयनं धर्मव्यवस्था ॥

[ २०० ]

( १ ) एवं संप्राप्य राज्यं तदिन्द्रप्रस्थे तपोधन ।

इत्यादेः

( अ० २०४—३० ) न चाभिद्यन्त ते सर्वे तदान्योन्येन भारत ।  
इत्यन्तस्य बहूनामेकाङ्गनासंबन्धे सुन्दोपसुन्दोपाख्यानेन प्राणान्तिकं दोषं प्रति-  
पाद्य ' धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः ' \* इति न्यायेन विपाकामिमुखपाण्डवधर्मप्रेरितेन

१ C कृतसन्धानं युद्धं. २ Ed विनयान्वितः ( for विनयात्ततः ). ३ Ed प्रश्नितं. ४ Ed  
संबन्धकम्. ५ Ed तलैः. B तलैः (?). ६ After this B ins वर्तुलानि. C ins वर्तुलं.  
७ C महाप्रमाणानि. ८ Ed शश्वत्. ९ B ०पाकामिमुखं पाण्डव. b om from ०पाण्डव  
up to कारिता.

\* Manusmṛti, VIII, 15

तदोषप्रतीकारोपायं समयं नारदेन कारिता पाण्डवा इति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( ९ )  
यदृच्छया मनःप्रवृत्त्या ॥ ( १४ ) सुसंवीता सुप्रीता ॥

[ २०१ ]

( २३ ) ऋते अन्योन्यं अन्योऽप्रभाविक इति लोभे दोषोऽभूदिति ॥  
( २४ ) विधानं प्रतिक्रिया । वां युवयोः ॥ ( २९ ) अकालकौमुदी  
अमावास्यादितिषिष्वपि चन्द्रिकां कृतवन्तौ ॥ ( ३१ ) तलनादितैः कर-  
तालिकादिभिः ॥

[ २०२ ]

( १ ) उत्सवे वरदानोत्सवे ॥ ( २३ ) निवृत्तविपणापणा निवृत्तो  
विपणो वणिग्व्यवहारो आपणेषु यस्याम् ॥ ( २५ ) प्रतिभयाकारं भयानकम् ॥

[ २०३ ]

( ५ ) अजाः अजातजन्मानः ॥ ( १० ) प्रार्थनीया लोभनीया ॥  
प्रमदा प्रकृष्टयौवनमदा ॥ ( २२ ) प्रत्यवस्थितौ त्यक्तौ ॥ ( २३ ) अंचित-  
पक्ष्माग्रं उन्मीलितं नयनरोमाग्रं यत्र ॥ ( २७ ) अभिप्रवर्तितं चलन्तम् ॥

[ २०४ ]

( ९ ) वेषं शृङ्गारम् । आक्षिप्तं चित्ताक्षेपकम् ॥ ( २२ ) छन्दिता  
लोभिता ॥ ( २३ ) सुदृष्टां सुखदृष्टाम् । तेजसा हेतुना । दुर्दर्शमिति  
यावत् ॥

[ २०५ ]

( १ ) एवं ते समयं कृत्वा न्यवसंस्तत्र पाण्डवाः ।  
इत्यादेः

( अ० २१३-८२ ) अन्विता राजशार्दूल पाण्डवा मुदमावैहन् ।  
इत्यन्तस्य तीव्रसंयोगाभ्यां आर्तब्राह्मणधनत्राणेन समयपालनलक्षणेन सत्येव(?) च

१ C om from यदृच्छया up to ( २०५ ) प्रसङ्गेन उपनीतवानिति तात्पर्यार्थः. २ After  
वां B ins पुरासं (?). Before वां b ins (या)सां पुरा. ३ Ed अंचितपक्ष्मान्तं. ४ Ed  
अभिप्रवर्तन्ते. ५ Ed मुदमाधुवत्.

सहकृतो विपाकाभिमुखः पाण्डवानां धर्मः त्रिवर्गसाधनं स्त्रीत्रितयं तासु च अपस्य  
स्त्रीसंबन्धिनश्च प्रतिपक्षविजयकारिणः कृष्णवल्लभद्रप्रभृतीन्सहायानर्जुनस्य नयान्  
प्रसङ्गेनोपनीतवानिति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( ५ ) निवेशने<sup>१</sup> गृहे ॥ ( ८ )  
प्रमत्तस्य अनवहितस्य । ध्वाङ्गैः काकैः हविर्विलुप्यते । शार्दूलस्य<sup>२</sup> शून्यां  
गुहां यथा क्रोष्टा शृगालः । इदं तु धर्मापायो वित्तस्य तत्स्करैर्हरणं तद्वाङ्मणै-  
रशक्यप्रतिक्रियमिति<sup>३</sup> राज्ञामग्रे निवेद्यत इति भावः ॥ ( ९ ) हस्तधारणं  
मज्जतः समुद्धरणम् ॥ ( १४ ) उपप्रेक्षणं उपेक्षा ॥ ( १५ ) अनास्ति जं  
अनास्तिकता । प्रतितिष्ठेत प्रतिष्ठां गच्छेत् ॥ ( २२ ) पात्वा<sup>४</sup> रक्षित्वा ॥  
( २५ ) गुडाकेशः गुडाकां निद्रा तस्या ईशः । अथवा गुडा स्नुही तदाकारा  
केशा यस्य ॥ ( २६ ) व्यलीकं अपराधः ॥ ( २७ ) यवीयसः अनु-  
प्रवेशो विधिलोपकः गुरोर्नोपघातकः इत्यन्वयः । खड्गादित्यागदुःखाभावात् ।  
ज्येष्ठस्य अनुप्रवेशो यवीयसो विधिलोपकः इत्यन्वयः ॥

[२०६]

( २ ) चौक्षाः शुचयः ॥ ( ६ ) निवेशं गृहम् ॥

[२०७]

( १० ) उपावर्तन्त निवृत्ताः ॥ ( १६ ) चैत्रवाहिनीं चित्रवाहन-  
स्यापत्यम् चैत्रवाहिनीम् ॥ ( २३ ) त्रीणि हिमानि यासु ताः त्रिहिमाः समाः ॥

[२०८]

( ४ ) द्विद्विक्तानि विजनानि ॥ ( ११ ) उत्कृष्टः उद्धृतः ॥  
( १६ ) अधीयानं जपन्तम् ॥ ( २० ) ललमानाः<sup>५</sup> क्रीडन्त्यः ॥

[२०९]

( ३ ) प्रलब्धं वञ्चायितुम् ॥ ( ५ ) मैत्रः सर्वजनसुहृद् ॥ ( ८ )

१ Ed विशां पते ( for निवेशनं ). २ Mas सिंहस्य ( for शार्दूलस्य ). ३ B \*प्रतिक्र(१)य°.  
C \*प्रतिज्ञेय°. ४ Ed अस्त्रधारणम्. ५ C उपेक्षणं. ६ Ed पीत्वा. ७ B b om from  
गुडाका up to तदाकारा. ८ Ed नोपघातः. ९ Ed वै हसन्त्यः ( for ललमानाः ). १० Ed  
प्रलोभ्यं.

शतं सहस्रं विश्वं च अक्षयवाचकं परिमाणवाचकं च । शतं समा इत्यत्र  
परिमाणवाचकः शतशब्दः । तेन शतवर्षावधिः शापः इति मा भैष्ट ॥

[२१०]

( ४ ) अज्ञातो नाम अविदितः किल ॥ ( ८ ) विहृत्य क्रीडित्वा ॥  
( १६ ) निष्कुटे गृहारामे ॥ ( १७ ) नरेन्द्रमार्गः राजमार्गः ॥ ( १८ )  
अवलोकने दर्शने ॥

[ २११ ]

( २ ) महे उत्सवे ॥ ( ३ ) दीपवृक्षैः वृक्षाकारैर्दीपाधारैः ॥ ( ७ )  
क्षीबो मत्तः ॥ ( ९ ) रौक्मिणेयः प्रद्युम्नः ॥ ( १५ ) अनेकाग्रमैनसं  
अन्यमनस्कम् ॥ ( १६ ) वनेचरस्य इति सोलुंठम् ॥ ( २० ) आस्था-  
स्यामि अङ्गीकरिष्यामि ॥ ( २१ ) संशयितः संशयवान् किं त्वां वरयेत्  
अन्यं वा । अनिमित्ततः प्रयोजनादिनिमित्तनिरपेक्षत्वात् ॥

[२१२]

( १ ) संचारिणां वार्ताहरेण ॥

[२१३]

( २९ ) हरणं कन्याप्रदेयं धनम् ॥ ( ३० ) प्रतिग्रहः प्रत्युत्थानम् ॥  
( ४३ ) अश्वतरी वेगयुता ॥ ( ४४ ) उत्सादनं उद्वर्तनम् ॥ ( २०८७\* )  
पृष्ठेन वैहन्तीति पृष्ठ्याः तेषाम् ॥ ( ४६ ) कृतस्य घटितस्य । मुख्यस्य  
श्रेष्ठस्य ॥ ( ४८ ) कृत्तानां सपरिकराणाम् । सादिभिः आरोहकैः ॥  
( ४९ ) पादग्रहणकं पादग्रहणस्येदम् ॥ ( ५१ ) आविद्धं कृतसंज्ञाहम् ॥  
( ५३ ) अमरावासे स्वर्गे ॥ ( ५४ ) उत्कृष्टतलनादितैः उत्कृष्टं तल-  
नादितं करतलध्वनिर्येषु ॥ ( ५८ ) सौभद्रं अभिमन्युम् ॥ ( ६१ )

१ Ed अवलोकित्वा. २ Ed एकाग्रमैनसं. ३ C अनन्यमनस्कम्. ४ Ed ततः संवाहिते  
तस्मिन् ( for संचारिणां तु तच्छ्रुत्वा ). ५ C हरन्तीति. ६ Ed हस्त्यारोहक्ये ( for सादिभिः  
सम्प्रे ). ७ Ed पादग्राहणिकं. C पादग्रहणिकं. ८ Ed आविद्धः. ९ C सुभद्रवासे.

सात्वत्यां सुभद्रायाम् । वाशब्दः उपमायाम् ॥ (६२) निष्काः सुवर्णानि ॥  
( ६५ ) दशविधं

धनुर्गुणः शराश्चैव गुरुशिष्यौ भुजद्वयम् ।

लक्ष्यं यत्नैकचित्तत्वं दशवैध्यं विदुर्बुधाः ॥

दिव्यं पाशुपतादि । मानुषं इतरत् ॥ ( ६६ ) अंसविन्दुकर्परादीनां  
स्थापनाविशेषः सौष्ठवम् ॥ ( ६७ ) आगमे धनुःशास्त्रपरिचये । प्रयोगे  
तदर्थानुष्ठाने ॥ ( ६८ ) संहननं अन्नम् ॥ ( ७२ ) विन्ध्यस्य प्रतिभटः  
प्रतिविन्ध्यः । गवामयनसंज्ञके सत्रे सुते सोमे जात इति सुतसोमः ॥ ( ७३ )  
आदित्यान् देवान् ॥

[२१४]

( १ ) इन्द्रप्रस्थे वसन्तस्ते जघ्नुरन्यान्नराधिपान् ।

इत्यादेः आदिपर्वसमाप्तिपर्यन्तस्य तमोमयगुरुतरदुराचारपुरुषसहस्रभारेण निम-  
ज्जन्त्या मेदिन्या देवसदासि विज्ञापितो भगवान् कमललोचनस्तद्भारावतारणाय  
तपस्तेजोमयीं नरनारायणमूर्तिं आत्मनः कौरवयादवकुले किरीटिकृष्णरूपेणाव-  
तारितवानिति पुराणरहस्यम् । तत्र भूमिखण्डवृक्षाय खाण्डववननिवासिनो  
जगद्धिरोधिनो महाभूतानुपसंहर्तुं हुतवहेन प्रेरितयोः कृष्णार्जुनयोर्वीर्यपरीक्षा  
गाण्डीवादिदिव्यशस्त्रप्राप्तिश्च तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ ( २ ) पुण्ये लक्षणकर्मणी यस्य  
धर्मराजस्योपमानम् । स्वदेहमिव यथा देहिनीं स्वदेहस्तथा लोकानां धर्मराजः  
त्रिवर्गसाधनमिति भावः ॥ ( ३ ) समं तुल्यम् । एको ह्यभ्यासेवितो धर्मार्थ-  
कामानात्मानमितरौ पीडयति । त्रीणि चात्मसमान्वन्धून् इत्युपमानेन तेषामेक-  
स्यापि पीडां न सहत इति विवक्ष्यति ॥

( ४ ) तेषां समविभक्तानां क्षितौ देहवतामिव ।

बभौ धर्मार्थकामानां चतुर्थ इव पार्थिवः ॥

इति । धर्मादीनां देशकालपात्रक्रमेण पृथक्कृतानां भुवि कृतदेहग्रहणानामिव  
युधिष्ठिरः चतुर्थः तत्पूरणत्वात्तत्पुष्टिहेतुत्वादिति भावः । अथवा तेषां अयं

पार्थिवः इतरैरर्जितत्वात् तेषामेव चतुर्थो मोक्षः । इवशब्दो भिन्नक्रमः चतुर्थः  
 इत्यस्यानन्तरं योजनीयः<sup>१</sup> । त्रयाणामेकत्र पक्षपात इति भावः । बभौ शुशुभे ॥  
 ( ५ ) परं श्रेष्ठम् ॥ ( ६ ) अधिष्ठानवती आश्रयवती । परायणवती  
 उत्कृष्टज्ञानवती । मतिः निश्चयः । बन्धुमान् औदासीन्यद्वेषशून्येन युधिष्ठिरेण  
 अनुरागवता तद्वानित्यर्थः ॥ ( ७ ) विततो विस्तारं गतः ॥ ( ९ ) नेत्राणि  
 रूपेण । हृदयानि गुणैः ॥ ( १० ) दैवेन राजाज्ञया । भावेन अनुरागेण ।  
 भावे हेतुमाह मनःकान्तं इति अभिलषितम् ॥ ( ११ ) अयुक्तं युक्ति-  
 शून्यम् । असत्यं वाङ्मनोविसंवादि । अहितं अनिष्टपरिणामम् । विप्रियं  
 तदात्वययोः कटुकम् ॥ ( १६ ) कुन्तीमातर् इत्यर्जुनामन्त्रणम् ॥ ( १९ )  
 महाधनं महामूल्यम् ॥

[ २१५ ]

( २ ) मिक्षे याचे ॥ [ Appendix I, No. 118 ] ( 1. 9 ) हरिहयः  
 इन्द्रः । ( 1. 36 ) श्रमस्थान् श्रान्तान् । ( 1. 38 ) बुद्धिमोहो बुद्धिविभ्रमः ।  
 ( 1. 92 ) विकारः अग्निमान्धर्मः । ( 1. 109 ) किल्बिषात् अग्निमान्धात् ।  
 ( 1. 120 ) प्रहरणानि अस्त्राणि । ( 1. 129 ) मिषतः पश्यतः ॥ ( १२ )  
 अकामस्य अनिच्छतः ॥ ( १९ ) करणानि उपकरणानि ॥

[ २१६ ]

( १ ) आदित्यं अदितेरपत्यम् ॥ ( ३ ) कपिलक्षणं कपिकेतुम् ॥  
 ( ५ ) सर्वायुधानां महामात्रं हस्तिनामिव निषेद्धारम् ॥ ( ८ ) राजतैः  
 रजतामैः । गान्धर्वैः अश्वैः ॥ ( १० ) भौवनो विश्वकर्मा ॥ ( १३ )  
 सिंहशार्दूलयोर्लक्षणं इव लक्षणं पराक्रमो यस्य ॥ ( १७ ) ज्यो अर्जुनः ॥  
 ( १८ ) तदपि धनुरपि नमस्कृत्य इत्यन्वयः । ज्यया गुणेन ॥ ( २७ )  
 कल्यौ समर्थौ । स्वः भवावः ॥

१ b वर्जित°. C वैराजित°. २ C द्रष्टव्यः. ३ C °स्थानवती. ४ b राज्ञा. ५ Ed  
 अतृप्तं. ६ After this Mas ins अकृतं सहजम्. ७ Ed मुदितोऽर्जुनः ( for मुदितो जयः ),

[ २१७ ]

( ३ ) छिद्रं अन्तरम् । रथयोः प्रमतोरलातचक्रयोरिव । आविद्धौ  
 भ्राम्यन्तौ ॥ ( ५ ) निष्पत्ताः अत्यन्ततप्ताः ॥ ( ९ ) गतसत्त्वाः गत-  
 जीवाः ॥ ( ११ ) प्रहसन् कृष्णवर्त्मा अमिषिर्घ्न ॥ ( १६ ) मानवाः  
 मनुप्रभवाः ॥ ( १७ ) हरिवाहनः इन्द्रः ॥ ( १९ ) अक्षस्य रथकाष्ठस्य  
 मात्रा प्रमाणं यस्य ॥ ( २२ ) स्तनयित्नुसमं घोषवत् ॥

[ २१८ ]

( ३ ) खगमैः बाणैः । अस्यता क्षिपता ॥ ( ११ ) जङ्गमाः निः  
सर्पम् । अप्रतिष्ठो निराश्रयः ॥ ( १२ ) कृष्णाम्भ्यां वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्याम् ॥  
( १३ ) शिविकां गदाम् । विचक्रं शूलम् ॥ ( ३३ ) अञ्जः अर्कविशेषः ॥

[ २१९ ]

( १ ) तरक्षां वानराः । ऋक्षां भल्दकाः । प्रभिन्नाः समदाः ॥  
 ( २७ ) रोधस्तु तटेषु ॥ ( ३० ) एकायनगताः एकमार्गगताः ॥  
 ( ३१ ) वसुरेतसः अग्नेः ॥ ( ३४ ) सुधां सुधासदृशं भक्ष्यम् ॥ ( ३७ )  
 अभिघाव आगच्छ मां रक्षेत्समिप्रायः ॥ ( ४० ) शार्ङ्गकैः खड्गरीटैः ॥

[ २२० ]

( २२ ) अन्तः मध्ये वर्षणव्यञ्जनीयेन रूपेण । गूढः तिरोहितः ॥  
 ( २३ ) एकं प्राजापत्यम् । त्रिविधं गार्हपत्याहवनीयदक्षिणाग्निभेदात् । अष्टधा  
 पर्णशालायां सोमवेद्यां उत्तरवेद्यां अग्नीध्रशालायां सदसि क्रतुषु उपसदि लोके  
 चेति ॥ ( २६ ) विषक्तान् विलम्बान् । ह्यनैः अर्चिभिः ॥ ( २९ )  
 घाता विश्वधारणात् । हस्पतिः बृहतां पालनात् । यमैः आहुत्यादिनियम-  
 हेतुत्वात् । सूर्यः प्रकाशकत्वात् । सोमः ओषधीनां सवनहेतुत्वात् । इल्यत इति  
 इलः प्रेर्यः न इलः अनिलः ॥

१ B b अजीवाः. २ Ed तरक्षवृक्षः (for तरक्षार्क्षः). ३ Mss शारङ्गः. ४ B b पत्नीशालायां. ५ C विषिकान्द्र. ६ Ed हायनाः. ७ Ed यमो मित्रः (for यमः स्वयः).

१३



## [ २२१ ]

( १ ) शुके अग्नौ ॥ ( २ ) निशाम्य ज्ञात्वा । तपस्विनी दीना ॥  
 ( ३ ) कर्षं वनम् ॥ ( ४ ) कर्षयन्ति कृष् तनूकरणे चिन्तया तनूकुर्वन्ति ।  
 कर्षयन्ति पाठे कृष् विलेखनधातौ विलेखयन्ति पक्षपुटविलेखने पक्षे इत्यर्थः ।  
 अवर्हाः अपक्षाः । पूर्वेषां पितृपितामहादीनां मध्ये । नः परायणं नः शरण-  
 मस्तीति ॥ ( ५ ) निःसरितुं गन्तुम् । अन्तैतः अग्निछेदस्थाने ॥ ( ७ )  
 किं कृत्वा मे मम कृतं सुकृतं स्यात् इत्यन्वयः । नु वितर्के ॥ ( ८-९ )  
 जरितारिभारिसृक्स्तम्बमित्रद्रोणान्नः चतुरः पुत्रान् कर्मभिर्माता शोचति ।  
 निर्घृणो निष्कृपः ॥ ( १२ ) पत गच्छ ॥ ( १३ ) क्षमं उचितम् ॥  
 ( १७ ) विहर्तुं अपनेतुम् ॥ ( १९ ) मोघो निष्फलः । धरेत धारयेत् ॥  
 ( २१ ) शिष्टैः\* मन्वादिभिः । दिष्टं उपदिष्टम् ॥

## [ २२२ ]

( ३ ) बायोः सकाशात् ॥ ( ४ ) चर गच्छ । वेत्स्यसि लप्स्यसे ॥  
 ( ७ ) निरमित्रः निःसपत्नः । हिरण्मयः सुवर्णमयः ज्ञानमयो वा ॥ ( १४ )  
 ( १४ ) एषणे अन्वेषणे ॥

## [ २२३ ]

( ७ ) आत्मेव आत्मा सखा शरीरं वा । योनिः कारणम् । वीरुषः  
 लतायाः ॥ ( ९ ) प्रपन्ना गता ॥ ( १० ) हेतयः विशः । ईडितः स्तुतः ॥  
 ( ११ ) तमसे तमोनिवृत्तये । गोषु रश्मिषु ॥ ( १४ ) प्रतिष्ठा प्रलय-  
 स्थानम् ॥ ( १६ ) विश्वान् सर्वान् । सृष्ट्या वृष्ट्या सृष्टिरूपया वृष्ट्या ।  
 भावयसि उत्पादयसि ॥ ( १७ ) सम्यग्द्रवन्ति गच्छन्ति आपोऽस्मिन्निति  
 समुद्रः । समुत्कलेदयतीति वा ॥ ( १९ ) परेण ग्रैहि अन्यतो गच्छ ॥  
 ( २३ ) ब्रह्मन् त्वम् ॥

१ Ed कर्षयन्ति. २ Ed सरितुं. ३ Ed अन्यतः. ४ Ed सारिसृक्. ५ B b यात  
 गच्छत. ६ Ed भ्रियेत. ७ Ed शिष्टाविष्टः (for शिष्टैः विष्टं). ८ Ed वीरुषां. ९ Ed  
 वासि. १० C संचलान्ति क्लेषयन्ति इति वा (पाठे १.).

[ २२४ ]

( २ ) प्लवने उत्पत्तने ॥ ( ११ ) अमित्रां सपत्नीम् ॥ ( १९ )  
अश्रद्धेयं असंभाव्यम् ॥ ( २६ ) पुरुषान्तरात् पुरुषव्यवधानात् ॥

[ २२५ ]

( ६ ) कुल्या अल्पा कृत्रिमा सरित् ॥ श्वेतकेरेव\* श्वेतकेतुः इति नाम ॥

तदिदमादिपर्व । आदिपर्वसंज्ञाबीजं च इदम् । जायते अस्ति विपरिणमते  
विवर्धते अपक्षीयते विनश्यतीति षण्णां भावविकाराणां आदिभूतो जन्मलक्षणो  
विकारः स चात्र संभवोपाख्याने पाण्डवकौरवाणां कथानायकप्रतिनायकानां  
साकल्येन प्रतिपादितः । तदुपलक्षिताः धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाः सोपायाः आदिशब्देन  
व्यपदिश्यन्ते यथा एकेन छत्रेणोपलक्षिताः छत्रविरहिता अपि छत्रिणो गच्छन्तीति  
व्यपदिश्यन्ते । अथ वा समासव्यासाभ्यां प्रतिपाद्यमानो ह्यर्थः सुप्रतिपादितः  
भवति । तत्र आदिः समासः । तत्पूर्वकत्वादुत्तरो व्यासः । तस्मात्समस्तजयेति-  
हाससमासत्वादिदमादिपर्व । ये तु प्रथमभावित्वादस्यादिपर्वत्वं वर्णयन्ति ते  
द्वितीयतृतीयसंज्ञामुत्तरोत्तरपर्वणामपि विदधिरन् । अर्थोपलक्षणानिमित्ता सभा-  
पर्वोदिसंज्ञा । तस्मादर्धनिबन्धना एव संज्ञा श्रेयसी । पर्वशब्दप्रवृत्तिश्चात्र पुण्य-  
हेतुत्वात् । पौर्णमास्यादिषु यथा । न च पुण्यहेतुषु तीर्थादिष्वतिप्रसङ्गः शङ्कनीयः ।  
योगस्यातिव्यापकत्वेऽपि वृद्धप्रसिद्धेर्नियामकत्वात् । वृद्धाश्च व्यासवैशंपायना-  
दयोऽत्र पर्वशब्दं प्रयुञ्जते । तस्मात्कालविशेषवैदयं नावभासः पर्वशब्दः । तस्मात्  
पुण्यविशेषार्थिना इहापि ब्रह्मयज्ञश्रवणादयो विधेयाः । तत्त्वज्ञानार्थिना तु सर्व-  
मन्यत्परित्यज्यास्मिन्नितिहासे प्रवृत्तिर्लभ्यम् । दृष्टो हि तस्यार्थः तत्त्वावबोधनमिति  
न्यायात् । अयममावास्यादिपर्वम्यो विशेषः । यदिदं धर्मार्थकाममोक्षरहस्यप्रति-  
पादकत्वादुपनिषदपीति । एषामष्टादशपर्वणां चैकत्वे भेदे च अर्थैकत्वभेदौ  
कारणम् । तथा हि आदिसभावनप्रभृतिर्योपाधिरेषामेकत्वे कारणम् । स एव  
परस्परपेक्षया वर्तमानः पर्वभेदः भेदे कारणम् । एवमध्यायानामप्येकत्वभेदाभ्यां

१ Ed. अमित्रां. २ Ed. अश्रद्धेयतमं. ३ Mss °विशेषविदं (?). ४ b तत्त्वावबोधनः.

५ Ed. Appendix I, 121, line 7

निपुणेर्न भवितव्यम् । 'अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यं साक्षात् चेद्विभागः स्यात्' इति  
न्यायात् । येषु पुनरध्यायेषु निपुणतरमवधानैरपि नार्थभेदाभेदौ दृश्येते तेषु भेदा-  
भेदयोर्फलभेदाभेदौ कारणम् । तथा हि कस्मिंश्चिदध्याये पठिते कपिलादानफलं  
कस्मिंश्चिद्वाजपेयफलमिति । तद्वेदाभेदाभ्यामध्यायभेदाभेदावध्यवसातव्यौ ॥

आवृण्वन्त्योमवीथीः खरतुहिनकरौ वेगवापौ(प्या?) विवर्तौ<sup>१</sup>

निर्वाप्य द्योतमानो निजनखरुचिभिर्भासयन्भूर्भुवः स्वः ।

आमर्त्यादावसत्याः गृह्यन्तेऽतिष्ठितिकृत्कषोऽङ्घ्रिः

पायान्नारायणीयश्चिरचकितंचरस्थास्तु.... प्रदो वः<sup>१</sup> ॥

इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यभट्टारकश्रीमत्सत्यबोधशिष्यस्य परमहंस-

परिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीदेवबोधकृतौ महाभारततात्पर्यटीकायां

ज्ञानदीपिकायामादिपर्व समाप्तम् ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥

१ Mss 'मेवयोर्निपुणेन. २ b वैराग्यात् विवर्ते (?). ३ B C 'तरस्थास्य मावीप्रबोधः (?)

४ After this B ins 'तद्वेदाभेदाभ्यामध्यायभेदाभेदावध्यवसातव्यौ' ॥ १४०० ॥ नारायणः नमस्कृत्य ॥

## APPENDIX

Additional matter in Śāradā script found in Ms. C. \*

[ ६५ ]

( ३४ ) मह्यं कुद्धः त्रिशंकुपातेन नक्षत्रसंपदा अतिशयितानि प्राचीन-  
नक्षत्रवंशाः प्रतिपत्तिरूपाणि श्रवणनक्ष ... .. तरं सृष्टा तत्पूर्वाणि  
यः ससर्ज इत्यन्वयः ॥

[ ६८ ]

( ४ ) शिखरिभिः शिखरसदृशैः ।

पक्वदाडिमबीजांतं(?) माणिक्यं शिखरं विदुः ।

मत्वर्यायि इन् । उपमेयतया तस्य समृद्धित्वं विवक्षितम् ।

दाडिमाफलसंकाशे दशने शिखरं विदुः ।

शिखरं लम्बितमाणिक्यम् । तथा च अनेकार्थे

पक्वदाडिमबीजांतं(?) माणिक्यं शिखरं विदुः ।

इति एतच्चायुक्तमेव ।

‘कुन्दकुङ्कुलं शिखरम्’ इति तु श्रीभोजः । दन्तानां कुन्दकुङ्कुलानां  
च सर्वदा सितत्वमेव इति कण्ठालंकारविदः ।

तस्मात् (?) शिखरदशना इति तीक्ष्णाप्रदन्ताः । एतच्च दशनानां शुभं  
लक्षणम् । सु..... स्वादात् । तथा च पराशरसंहितायां ‘समसितशिखरिणश्च  
दशना’ इति ॥ ( २१ ) संरंभः क्रोधः । तेन अमर्षः अक्षमा ॥

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\* These additions are made in the upper, lower and side margins on the following folios of Ms. C:— 22, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45 and 48. In this appendix also the *pratikas* are printed in black type and *adhyāya* and *śloka* numbers from the Critical Edition of the *Mbh.* published by B. O. R. I. are adopted. In some places, where the *pratikas* have not been originally given, they are supplied in brackets.

Ed. वक्ष्यमाणम्.

## [ १२२ ]

( १२ ) वीटा कन्दुकसदृशं अश्मकवर्णम् (?) कन्दुकं वीटेति गम्यते ॥  
( 1358\* ) तेषां तु क्रीडमानानाम् इति ।

तेषां तु क्रीडमानानामुदपानेऽङ्गुलीयकम् ।

( १३ ) पपात धर्मराजस्य वीटा तत्रैव चापतत्<sup>१</sup> ॥  
इति ।

## [ १२५ ]

( २७ ) निष्पेषः अशनिध्वनिः ।

## [ १२६ ]

( ४ ) द्युतिकान्तिदीप्तिभिः प्रकाशकमनीयभास्वरताभिः ॥ ( ५ )  
कनकतालः तरुविशेषः ॥ ( ३७ ) वृषः कर्णः ॥

## [ १२७ ]

( १ ) अधिरथः अत्र कर्णपिता । प्राणः बलम् ॥ ( २ ) ( पितृ-  
गौरवयन्त्रितः ) यन्त्रवशात् .... ॥ ( ५ ) कर्णं सूतं विजानन्ति ॥  
( ११ ) क्षेत्रबन्धुना अधमेनापि ॥ ( १४ ) आगमितं श्रुतम् ॥ ( २४ )  
निःश्रमः अत्यभ्यासः ॥

## [ १२९ ]

( १५ ) दायाद्यं रिक्थम् ॥

## [ १३० ]

( ५ ) ( अपक्रष्टुं ) राज्यादपकक्ष्यं व्यावयितुम् ॥ ( ६ ) भृताः पुष्टाः ॥  
( १८ ) परे शत्रौ । प्रच्छन्नं यतः यत्नवान् ॥

## [ १३१ ]

( १५ ) न प्रसहिष्यति न बाधिष्यते ॥

१ E.d संक्रीडमानानां, २ E.d पपात रूपे सा वीटा तेषां वै क्रीडनां तदा, ३ E.d द्युतिकान्तिपुनियुगेः.

[१३३]

वारणावते जतुगृहं गत्वा पाण्डवा दग्धव्या इति पुरोचनादिभिः समं ...  
... राज्ये प्रस्थापिताः ॥

(१८) पौरैषु तु निवृत्तेषु विदुरः सर्वधर्मवित् ।

बोधयन्पाण्डवश्रेष्ठमिदं वचनमब्रवीत् ॥

अस्यार्थः । पौरजनेषु अनार्ये यात्रां कृत्वा विनिवृत्तेषु रहः समासाच्च विदुरः  
पाण्डवश्रेष्ठं युधिष्ठिरं इदं वचनं (1458\*) 'यो जानाति' इत्यादि वक्ष्यमाणं  
अब्रवीत् । किंभूतं वाक्यम् । संज्ञापनरूपम् । इदं वचनं इति पदसंज्ञापने  
परमाण्वल्लिङ्गम् । तथा च ब्रह्मवैवर्ते ।

इदं वचनमुक्त्वा च वाक्यं वाक्यविशारदः ।

चकारावश्यकं सर्वं नर्मदातीरमाश्रितः ॥

इति । बोधयन् अवहितं कुर्वन् । सर्वधर्मवित् सकलनीतिधर्मवित् ।

प्राज्ञः प्राज्ञं प्रलापज्ञं सम्यग्धर्मार्थदर्शिवान् ।

प्राज्ञः प्रस्तुतकार्यवेत्ता विदुरः । प्राज्ञं ज्ञातिं परोक्तवाक्यार्थमिदं युधिष्ठिरम् ।  
प्रलापज्ञं सर्वदेशभाषाप्रलापज्ञम् । तथाविधमेव अब्रवीत् इत्यर्थः ॥

(1458\*) यो जानाति परप्राज्ञां नीतिशास्त्रानुसारिणीम् ।

( १९ ) विज्ञायेदं तथा कुर्यादापदं निस्तरेद्यथा ।

इदं संज्ञापनवाक्यम् । यः पुमान् अन्यस्य वक्तुः वचनार्थपरामर्श ... प्रज्ञामेति  
प्रायेण यदुक्त ... जानाति । नीतिशास्त्राः सारिणी इति कर्तव्याकर्तव्य-  
निश्चय ... शास्त्राणि विशालादीनि तदनुसारिणीं तत्संबद्धां नीतिशास्त्रानु-  
संबद्धार्थज्ञानस्यानुयोगात् । विज्ञायेदं तथा कुर्यात् । तान् विज्ञाय इह जगति  
पुरुषः तथा कुर्यात् निर्गतं अनिर्गतं वा तथाप्रकारं कुर्यात् यथासावापदमात्मनो  
..... दिति ..... नित्याविरुद्धप्रत्याय ..... निश्चितमापन्नः  
त्यादेत्यर्थः ॥

( २० ) कक्ष्मः वहिः वनेचरादिश्च । महाकक्षे महावने । स न दहेत्  
न व्यापादयेत् । कान् । बिलौकसः सर्पनकुलमूषकादीन् । इत्यतो हेतोः  
चशब्देन ..... सत्यं च नेति । आत्मानं खशरीरम् । यो रक्षति स  
जीवति वासगृहे बिलं कर्तुम् ॥

जतुगृहाभिर्गमनेऽपि वयं दुर्योधनपक्षीरवश्यं व्यापादयेत्त्याः तत्र प्रति-  
क्रिया । तत्राह ।

( २१ ) नाचक्षुर्वेत्ति पन्थानं नाचक्षुर्विन्दते दिशः ।

नाधृतिर्भूतिमाप्नोति बुध्यस्वैतत्तु बोधितः ॥

अचक्षुः चारश्चन्यः । न पन्थानं जानाति । अतो वारणावतं गत्वा निर्गमन-  
प्रवेशादिकं पथज्ञानं कर्तव्यम् । न अधृतिः इति । योऽतिधैर्ययुक्तो दुःखसहः  
स भूतिं सम्यग् आप्नोति नान्यः । तस्माद्दुर्गभंगादिना यदुःखं तत् सोढव्यं न तु  
तत्र निर्वेदः कार्यः ॥

किमिति पलायितव्यं तत्रैव किमिति न स्वीयते । तत्राह ( २२ ) अनाप्तै-  
र्दत्तं इति । अनाप्तैः पुरोचनादिभिः । दत्तं अलोहजं शस्त्रं युक्तं आदत्ते  
स्वीकरोति पुरुषः शत्रोरकीर्तिं ..... र्थसुप्रतीकारस्यान्यतः सिद्धत्वात् ॥

महाकच्छे बिलौकसः इति यदुक्तं तत्र दृष्टान्तमाह ( २२ ) श्वावित्  
इत्यादि गतार्थम् । यदि वा प्रतीकारं कृत्वापि न स्थेयं तत्र न बत सारभा ....  
त्किं तर्हि कर्तव्यम् । श्वावेच्छुः इति दुर्गं महद् आसाद्य प्रमुच्येत महा-  
भयात् । उक्तं च

श्वाविच्छन्मन्विच्छेच्छत्रुभिः परिवारितः ।

इत्यर्थः ॥

नाचक्षुः इति यदुक्तं तत्र दिङ्मुखज्ञानार्थमाह ।

चरन्मार्गान्विजानाति ( दिवा ) नक्षत्रैर्विन्दते दिशः ( निशासु ) ।

इति ॥

नाधृतिर्भूतिमाप्नोति इति स्फुटयति ।

( २३ ) आत्मनः चात्मनः पञ्च पाण्डयनाः पीयते ।

आत्मना स्वयमेव । पञ्च आत्मनः भूतानि । पीडयन् दुःखयन् । नानु-  
पीड्यते कार्यवशेन संजातत्वादित्यर्थः ॥

[१३८]

(११) जलं तिष्ठत्यस्मिन्निति जलस्थायः जलाशयः ॥ (२५) चैत्यः  
देवाङ्कितवृक्षः । चैत्यः बद्धवेदिकः । पूज्यो वृक्षः तदुक्तः चैत्यः ॥

[१४३]

(३४) घटः अस्य उत्कचः(?) इति<sup>१</sup> मातरं प्रत्ययोषत ।

अब्रवीत्तेन नामास्य घटोत्कच इति स्म ह ॥

घट इवोद्यते तर्क्यते स्थूलमध्ये दीर्घग्रीवः उत्कचः ऊर्ध्वसमुद्रकचः इति मातरं  
हिडिम्बां भूमिसेन उक्तवान् । अनयैव व्युत्पत्त्या माता अस्य नाम अब्रवीत्  
इत्यर्थः । अथवा घटन्तीव चलन्तीव उद्यन्ते अस्योर्ध्वकचा इति घटोत्कच इति॥

[१४६]

(१) विद्यामधीत इति वैद्यः ॥

[१५५]

(५) अभितः सर्वतः ॥ (७) शाम्यन्तौ विषयेभ्यो निर्वर्तमानौ ।  
शाम्यन्तौ समयुक्तौ ॥ (८) तारणं कार्यान्तकरणम् ॥ (९) उपहरे  
एकान्ते । 'रहोऽन्तिकमुपहरे' इत्यमरः\* ॥ (११) अर्बुदं कोटिशतम् ।  
इदं तु चिन्त्यम्(?) ॥ (१६) संकरस्य दोषयुक्तस्य वा । (असांप्रतम्)  
'युक्ते द्वे सांप्रतं स्थाने' इत्यमरः† ॥

[१६०]

(५) त्रिः<sup>१</sup> त्रीन् वारान् ॥ (२६) (क्षुपः) 'इत्स्वशास्त्राशिफः  
क्षुपः' इत्यमरः\*\* ॥

१ Ed घटमासोत्कच इति. २ Ed सोम्यभाषत. ३ Ed अभवत्तेन. ४ Ed यद्दचः (for विर्वचः).

\* Amarakośa III. 3. 183. † Amarakośa III. 4. 11. \*\* Amarakośa  
II. 4. 8.



[१६४]

( ३ ) एतद् नाम कथयते । श्रोतुं इच्छाति इति ॥ ( ५ ) तपसा इति । उपवृत्तौ वासयति स्वचरणयोः इति वासिष्ठः इति निरुक्त्यर्थः । संवाहनं कर्मणम् ॥ ( १४ ) ब्रह्म कार्यं उत्पादनम् ॥

[१७६]

( ३० ) वीरकांस्यं पीतभाण्डं पुष्पपात्री वा । वीरकांस्यं स्वयंवरायै मालास्थापनं भाजनम् । समलंकृतं माल्यम् ॥

[१७८]

( ९ ) पञ्च पाण्डवान् । अभिषद्धान् पद्मवनाभिमुखानिव गजेन्द्रान् ॥ ( ११ ) अद्वौ पद्माभिमुखत्वेन व्यायच्छमानाः प्रयत्नवन्तः ददृशुः ॥

[१७९]

( ११ ) संस्थानं शरीरं संनिवेशः तेन चरत्सु तद्वत्सु शरीरेषु मध्ये इत्यर्थः ॥ ( १३ ) सुखं .... यत् महत् महद्भेतुः .... न्तीत्यन्वयः ॥ ( १४ ) विलपतां इति .... षष्ठी ॥ ( १५ ) परिक्रम्य गत्वा ॥ ( २१ ) आवासमेवोपजगाम अन्यथा संतप्तानां प्रतप्तस्थे .... स्यात् सर्वार्थान् । तयोश्च रक्षार्थं भीमार्जुनाभेव चात्र पर्याप्तौ ॥

[१८०]

( ७ ) बुभूषति अङ्गीकरोति ॥ ( १८ ) तालमात्रं ऊर्ध्वबाहुस्मित-पुरुषप्रमाणं तालतरुतुल्यं वा ॥

[१८१]

( ३१ ) (अपहारः) 'अपहारस्त्वपचयः' इत्यमरः\* । हानिद्वित्यर्थः ॥

१ Ed अपहारः .

\* Amarakośa III. 2. 16.

[१८४]

( १७ ) प्रतीतः प्रदष्टः ॥

[१८७]

( १८ ) ( ब्राह्मेण परित्रेण दक्षिणाङ्गप्रप्रद्वेणेन । ) तथा च स्मृतिः ।

एकैकस्याथ विप्रस्य गृहीत्वाङ्गप्रमादरात् ।

अमुकामुकगोत्रैतत् तुभ्यमन्नं स्वधा नमः ॥†

[१८९]

( २३ ) शेषस्य शापान्तस्य ॥

[१९१]

( ३ ) ( कृतकौतुकमङ्गला )

तद्राक्षसात्त(?)सिद्धार्थशिखिपक्षोरगत्वचः ।

कंकाणौषधयश्चैव कौतुकाख्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

तद्राक्षः(?) श्वेतगुग्गुलुः । म. लान् शङ्खध्वन्यादीनि ॥

[१९३]

( १६ ) लोभं चौरसमृद्धिद्रव्यम् ॥

[२०१]

( २९ ) कौमुदी कार्तिकमासीय उत्सवः । अकाले एव चक्रतुः इत्यर्थः ॥

[२०२]

( ८ ) सरस्वत्या भूषणानि(?) नागौः ॥

[२१३]

( ४४ ) ( उत्सा नं ) 'उद्धर्तनोत्सादने द्वे' इत्यमरः\* ॥

? Ed परमपत्नीतः. † Ed अ० २०४-२ (?)

† A quotation from Brahmapurāṇa; also given by Aparārka in his commentary of Yājñavalkya-smṛti ( śaśrādhyāya ).

\* Amarakośa II 6. 121.



